THE HISTORY OF LOUISIANA, OR OF THE WESTERN PARTS OF VIRGINIA AND CAROLINA:

Containing a DESCRIPTION of the Countries that lie on both Sides of the River MISSISIPPI:

With an ACCOUNT of the

SETTLEMENTS, INHABITANTS, SOIL, CLIMATE, AND PRODUCTS.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH

Of M. LE PAGE DU PRATZ;

With ſome Notes and Obſervations relating to our Colonies.

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PREFACE,

PREFACE.

THE Hiſtory of Louiſiana, which we here preſent to the public, was wrote by a planter of ſixteen years experience in that country, who had likewiſe the advantage of being overſeer or director of the public plantations, both when they belonged to the company, and afterwards when they fell to the crown; by which means he had the beſt opportunities of knowing the nature of the ſoil and climate, and what they produce, or what improvements they are likely to admit of; a thing in which this nation is, without doubt, highly concerned and intereſted. And when our author publiſhed this hiſtory in 1758, he had likewiſe the advantage, not only of the accounts of F. Charlevoix, and others, but of the Hiſtorical Memoirs of Louiſiana, publiſhed at Paris in 1753, by Mr. Dumont, an officer who reſided two-and-twenty years in the country, and was perſonally concerned and acquainted with many of the tranſactions in it; from whom we have extracted ſome paſſages, to render this account more complete.

But whatever opportunities our author had of gaining a knowledge of his ſubject, it muſt be owned, that he made his accounts of it very perplexed. By endeavouring to take in every thing, he deſcends to many trifles; and by dwelling too

long on a ſubject, he comes to render it obſcure, by being prolix in things which hardly relate to what he treats of. He interrupts the thread of his diſcourſe with private anecdotes, long harangues, and tedious narrations, which have little or no relation to the ſubject, and are of much leſs conſequence to the reader. The want of method and order throughout the whole work is ſtill more apparent; and that, joined to theſe digreſſions, renders his accounts, however juſt and intereſting, ſo tedious and irkſome to read, and at the ſame time ſo indiſtinct, that few ſeem to have reaped the benefit of them. For theſe reaſons it was neceſſary to methodize the whole work; to abridge ſome parts of it; and to leave out many things that appear to be trifling. This we have endeavoured to do in the tranſlation, by reducing the whole work to four general heads or books; and by bringing the ſeveral ſubjects treated of, the accounts of which lie ſcattered up and down in different parts of the original, under theſe their proper heads; ſo that the connection between them, and the accounts of any one ſubject, may more eaſily appear.

This, it is preſumed, will appear to be a ſubject of no ſmall conſequence and importance to this nation, eſpecially at this time. The countries here treated of, have not only by right always belonged to Great-Britain, but part of them is now acknowledged to it by the former uſurpers: and it is to be hoped, that the nation may now reap ſome advantages from thoſe countries, on which it has expended ſo many millions; which there is no more

likely way to do, than by making them better known in the firſt place, and by learning from the experience of others, what they do or are likely to produce, that may turn to account to the nation.

It has been generally ſuſpected, that this nation has ſuffered much, from the want of a due knowledge of her dominions in America, which we ſhould endeavour to prevent for the future. If that may be ſaid of any part of America, it certainly may of thoſe countries, which have been called by the French Louiſiana. They have not only included under that name all the weſtern parts of Virginia and Carolina; and thereby imagined, that they had, from this nominal title, a juſt right to thoſe antient dominions of the crown of Britain: but what is of worſe conſequence perhaps, they have equally deceived and impoſed upon many, by the extravagant hopes and unreaſonable expectations they had formed to themſelves, of the vaſt advantages they were to reap from thoſe countries, as ſoon as they had uſurped them; which when they came to be diſappointed in, they ran from one extreme to another, and condemned the country as good for nothing, becauſe it did not anſwer the extravagant hopes they had conceived of it; and we ſeem to be miſled by their prejudices, and to be drawn into miſtakes by their artifice or folly. Becauſe the Miſſiſippi ſcheme failed in 1719, every other reaſonable ſcheme of improving that country, and of reaping any advantage from it, muſt do the ſame. It is to wipe off theſe prejudices, that the following account of theſe countries, which

appears

appears to be both juſt and reaſonable, and agreeable to every thing we know of America, may be the more neceſſary.

We have been long ago told by F. Charlevoix, from whence it is, that many people have formed a contemptible opinion of this country that lies on and about the Miſſiſippi. They are miſled, ſays he, by the relations of ſome ſeafaring people, and others, who are no manner of judges of ſuch things, and have never ſeen any part of the country but the coaſt ſide, about Mobile, and the mouths of the Miſſiſippi; which our author here tells us is as diſmal to appearance, the only thing thoſe people are capable of judging of, as the interior parts of the country, which they never ſaw, are delightful, fruitful, and inviting. They tell us, beſides, that the country is unhealthful; becauſe there happens to be a marſh at the mouth of the Miſſiſippi, (and what river is there without one?) which they imagine muſt be unhealthful, rather than that they know it to be ſo; not conſidering, that all the coaſt both of North and South America is the ſame; and not knowing, that the whole continent, above this ſingle part on the coaſt, is the moſt likely, from its ſituation, and has been found by all the experience that has been had of it, to be the moſt healthy part of all North America in the ſame climates, as will abundantly appear from the following and all other accounts.

To give a general view of thoſe countries, we ſhould conſider them as they are naturally divided into four parts; 1. The ſea coaſt; 2. The Lower Louiſiana, or weſtern part of Carolina; 3. The Upper

Upper Louiſiana, or weſtern part of Virginia; and 4. the river Miſſiſippi.

I. The ſea coaſt is the ſame with all the reſt of the coaſt of North America to the ſouthward of New York, and indeed from thence to Mexico, as far as we are acquainted with it. It is all a low flat ſandy beach, and the ſoil for ſome twenty or thirty miles diſtance from the ſhore, more or leſs, is all a *pine barren*, as it is called, or a ſandy deſart; with few or no good ports or harbours on the coaſt, eſpecially in all thoſe ſouthern parts of America, from Cheſapeak bay to Mexico. But however barren this coaſt is in other reſpects, it is entirely covered with tall pines, which afford great ſtore of pitch, tar, and turpentine. Theſe pines likewiſe make good maſts for ſhips; which I have known to laſt for twenty odd years, when it is well known, that our common maſts of New England white pine will often decay in three or four years. Theſe maſts were of that kind that is called the pitch pine, and lightwood pine; of which I knew a ſhip built that ran for ſixteen years, when her planks of this pine were as ſound and rather harder than at firſt, although her oak timbers were rotten. The cypreſs, of which there is ſuch plenty in the ſwamps on this coaſt, is reckoned to be equally ſerviceable, if not more ſo, both for maſts (of which it would afford the largeſt of any tree that we know), and for ſhip building. And ſhips might be built of both theſe timbers for half the price perhaps of any others, both on account of the vaſt plenty of them, and of their being ſo eaſily worked.

In moſt parts of theſe coaſts likewiſe, eſpecially about the Miſſiſippi, there is great plenty of cedars and ever-green oaks; which make the beſt ſhips of any that are built in North America. And we ſuſpect it is of theſe cedars and the American cypreſs, that the Spaniards build their ſhips of war at the Havanna. Of theſe there is the greateſt plenty, immediately to the weſtward of the mouth of the Miſſiſippi; where "large veſſels can go to the lake of the Chetimachas, and nothing hinders them to go and cut the fineſt oaks in the world, with which all that coaſt is covered *;" which, moreover, is a ſure ſign of a very good, inſtead of a bad ſoil; and accordingly we ſee the French have ſettled their tobacco plantations thereabouts. It is not without reaſon then, that our author tells us, the largeſt navies might be built in that country at a very ſmall expence.

From this it appears, that even the ſea coaſt, barren as it is, from which the whole country has been ſo much depreciated, is not without its advantages, and thoſe peculiarly adapted to a trading and maritime nation. Had theſe ſandy deſarts indeed been in ſuch a climate as Canada, they would have been of as little value, as many would make them here. It might be difficult indeed to ſettle colonies merely for theſe or any other productions of thoſe poor lands: but to the weſtward of the Miſſiſippi, the coaſt is much more fruitful all along the bay of Mexico; being watered with a great number of rivers, the banks of which are very fertile, and are covered with foreſts of the talleſt oaks,

* *Charlevoix* Hiſt. N. France, Tom. III. p. 444.

oaks, &c. as far as to New Mexico, a thing not to be ſeen any where elſe on theſe coaſts. That coaſt alone will ſupply all the products of North America, and is as convenient to navigation as any part of it, without going nigh the Miſſiſippi; ſo that it is with good reaſon our author ſays, "That country promiſes great riches to ſuch as ſhall inhabit it, from the excellent quality of its lands *," in ſuch a climate.

Theſe are the productions of the dry (we cannot call them high) grounds: the ſwamps, with which this coaſt abounds, are ſtill more fruitful, and abundantly compenſate the avidity and barrenneſs of the ſoil around them. They bear rice in ſuch plenty, eſpecially the marſh about New Orleans, "That the inhabitants reap the greateſt advantage from it, and reckon it the manna of the land †." It was ſuch marſhes on the Nile, in the ſame climate, that were the granary of the Roman empire. And from a few ſuch marſhes in Carolina, not to be compared to thoſe on the Miſſiſippi, either in extent or fertility, Britain receives at leaſt two or three hundred thouſand pounds a year, and might vend twice that value of their products.

But however barren or noxious theſe low lands on the ſea coaſt may be, they extend but a little way about the Miſſiſippi, not above thirty or forty miles in a ſtraight line, on the eaſt ſide of that river, and about twice as far on the weſt ſide; in which laſt, the lands are, in recompence, much more fruitful. To follow the courſe of the river indeed, which runs very obliquely ſouth-eaſt and

* See p. 163.

† *Dumont*, l. 15.

north-weſt, as well as crooked, they reckon it eighty-two leagues from the mouth of the river to the Cut-Point, where the high lands begin.

II. By the Lower Louiſiana, our author means only the Delta of the Miſſiſippi, or the drowned lands made by the overflowing of the river. But we may more properly give that appellation to the whole country, from the low and flat ſea coaſt above deſcribed, to the mountains, which begin about the latitude 35°, a little above the river St. Francis; that is, five degrees of latitude, or three hundred and fifty ſtatute miles from the coaſt; which they reckon to be ſix hundred and ſixty miles up the Miſſiſippi. About that latitude a continued ridge of mountains runs weſtward from the Apalachean mountains nigh to the banks of the Miſſiſippi, which are thereabouts very high, at what we have called the Chicaſaw Cliffs. Oppoſite to theſe on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſippi, the country is mountainous, and continues to be ſo here and there, as far as we have any accounts of it, weſtward to the mountains of New Mexico; which run in a chain of continued ridges from north to ſouth, and are reckoned to divide that country from Louiſiana, about 900 miles weſt from the Miſſiſippi.

This is one entire level champaign country; the part of which that lies weſt of the Miſſiſippi is 900 miles (of ſixty to a degree) by 300, and contains 270,000 ſquare miles, as much as both France and Spain put together. This country lies in the latitude of thoſe fruitful regions of Barbary, Syria, Perſia, India, and the middle of China, and is alone ſufficient to ſupply the world with all the products

of

of North America. It is very fertile in every thing, both in lands and metals, by all the accounts we have of it; and is watered by ſeveral large navigable rivers, that ſpread over the whole country from the Miſſiſippi to New Mexico; beſides ſeveral ſmaller rivers on the coaſt weſt of the Miſſiſippi, that fall into the bay of Mexico; of which we have no good accounts, if it be not that Mr. Coxe tells us of one, the river of the Cenis, which, he ſays, "is broad, deep, and navigable almoſt to its heads, which chiefly proceed from the ridge of hills that ſeparate this province from New Mexico *," and runs through the rich and fertile country on the coaſt above mentioned.

The weſtern part of this country is more fertile, ſays our author, than that on the eaſt ſide of the Miſſiſippi; in which part, however, ſays he, the lands are very fertile, with a rich black mould three feet deep in the hills, and much deeper in the bottoms, with a ſtrong clayey foundation. Reeds and canes even grow upon the hill ſides; which, with the oaks, walnuts, tulip-trees, &c. are a ſure ſign of a good and rich ſoil. And all along the Miſſiſippi on both ſides, Dumont tells, "The lands, which are all free from inundations, are excellent for culture, particularly thoſe about Baton Rouge, Cut-Point, Arkanſas, Natchez, and Yaſous, which produce Indian corn, tobacco, indigo, &c. and all kinds of proviſions and eſculent plants, with little or no care or labour, and almoſt without culture; the ſoil being in all thoſe places a black mould of an excellent quality †."

 Theſe

* Deſcription of Carolina, p. 37. † Memoires, l. 16.

Theſe accounts are confirmed by our own people, who were ſent by the government of Virginia in 1742, to view theſe the weſtern parts of that province; and although they only went down the Ohio and Miſſiſippi to New Orleans, they reported, that "they ſaw more good land on the Miſſiſippi, and its many large branches, than they judge is in all the Engliſh colonies, as far as they are inhabited;" as appears from the report of that government to the board of trade.

What makes this fertile country more eligible and valuable, is, that it appears both from its ſituation, and from the experience the French have had of it *, to be by far the moſt healthful of any in all theſe ſouthern parts of North America; a thing of the laſt conſequence in ſettling colonies, eſpecially in thoſe ſouthern parts of America, which are in general very unhealthful. All the ſea coaſts of our colonies, to the ſouthward of Cheſapeak bay, or even of New-York, are low and flat, marſhy and ſwampy, and very unhealthful on that account: and thoſe on and about the bay of Mexico, and in Florida, are withal exceſſively hot and intemperate, ſo that white people are unfit for labour in them; by which all our ſouthern colonies, which alone promiſe to be of any great advantage to the nation, are ſo thin of people, that we have but 25,000 white people in all South Carolina †. But thoſe lands on the Miſſiſippi are, on the contrary, high, dry, hilly, and in ſome places mountainous at no great diſtance from the

* See p. 120, 121.

† Deſcription of South Carolina, by ———, p. 30.

the river, beſides the ridges of the Apalachean mountains above mentioned, that lie to the northward of them; which muſt greatly refreſh and cool the air all over the country, eſpecially in compariſon of what it is on the low and flat, ſandy and parched ſea coaſts of our preſent colonies. Theſe high lands begin immediately above the Delta, or drowned lands, at the mouth of the Miſſiſippi; above which the banks of that river are from one hundred to two hundred feet high, without any marſhes about them; and continue ſuch for nine hundred miles to the river Ohio, eſpecially on the eaſt ſide of the river *.

Such a ſituation on rich and fertile lands in that climate, and on a navigable river, muſt appear to be of the utmoſt conſequence. It is only from the rich lands on the river ſides (which indeed are the only lands that can generally be called rich in all countries, and eſpecially in North America), that this nation reaps any thing of value from all the colonies it has in that part of the world. But "rich lands on river ſides in hot climates are extremely unhealthful, ſays a very good judge †, and we have often found to our coſt. How ought we then to value ſuch rich and healthful countries on the Miſſiſippi? As much ſurely as ſome would depreciate and vilify them. It may be obſerved, that all the countries in America are only populous in the inland parts, and generally at a diſtance from navigation; as the ſea coaſts both of North and South America are generally low, damp, exceſſively hot, and unhealthful; at leaſt in all the

* See p. 158. † *Arbuthnot* on Air. *App.*

ſouthern parts, from which alone we can expect any conſiderable returns. Inſtances of this may be ſeen in the adjacent provinces of Mexico, New Mexico, Terra Firma, Peru, Quito, &c. and far more in our ſouthern colonies, which never became populous, till the people removed to the inland parts, at a diſtance from the ſea. This we are in a manner prevented to do in our colonies, by the mountains which ſurround us, and confine us to the coaſt; whereas on the Miſſiſippi the whole continent is open to them, and they have, beſides, this healthy ſituation on the lower parts of that river, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſea.

If thoſe things are duly conſidered, it will appear, that they who are poſſeſſed of the Miſſiſippi, will in time command that continent; and that we ſhall be confined on the ſea coaſts of our colonies, to that unhealthful ſituation, which many would perſuade us is ſo much to be dreaded on the Miſſiſippi. It is by this means that we have ſo very few people in all our ſouthern colonies; and have not been able to get in one hundred years above twenty-five thouſand people in South Carolina; when the French have not leſs than eighty or ninety thouſand in Canada, beſides ten or twelve thouſand on the Miſſiſippi, to oppoſe to them. The low and drowned lands, indeed, about the mouth of the Miſſiſippi muſt no doubt be more or leſs unhealthful; but they are far from being ſo very pernicious as many repreſent them. The waters there are freſh, which we know, by manifold experience in America, are much leſs prejudicial to health than the offenſive fetid marſhes, that are to be found

found every where elſe on the ſalt waters. Accordingly we are credibly informed, that ſome of the inhabitants of New Orleans ſay, they never enjoyed better health even in France; and for that reaſon they invite their countrymen, in their letters to them, we are told, to come and partake of the ſalutary benefits of that delightful country. The clearing, draining, and cultivating of thoſe low lands, muſt make a very great change upon them, from the accounts we have had of them in their rude and uncultivated ſtate.

III. The Upper Louiſiana we call that part of the continent, which lies to the northward of the mountains above mentioned in latitude 35°. This country is in many places hilly and mountainous, for which reaſon we cannot expect it to be ſo fertile as the plains below it. But thoſe hills on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſippi are generally ſuſpected to contain mines, as well as the mountains of New Mexico, of which they are a continuation. But the fertile plains of Louiſiana are perhaps more valuable than all the mines of Mexico; which there would be no doubt of, if they were duly cultivated. They will breed and maintain ten times as many people, and ſupply them with many more neceſſaries, and articles of trade and navigation, than the richeſt mines of Peru.

The moſt important place in this country, and perhaps in all North America, is at the Forks of the Miſſiſippi, where the Ohio falls into that river; which, like another ocean, is the general receptacle of all the rivers that water the interior parts of that vaſt continent. Here thoſe large and navigable

ble rivers, the Ohio, river of the Cherokees, Wabache, Illinois, Miſſouri, and Miſſiſippi, beſides many others, which ſpread over that whole continent, from the Apalachean mountains to the mountains of New Mexico, upwards of one thouſand miles, both north, ſouth, eaſt, and weſt, all meet together at this ſpot; and that in the beſt climate, and one of the moſt fruitful countries of any in all that part of the world, in the latitude 37°, the latitude of the Capes of Virginia, and of Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico. By that means there is a convenient navigation to this place from our preſent ſettlements to New Mexico; and from all the inland parts of North America, farther than we are acquainted with it: and all the natives of that continent, thoſe old friends and allies of the French, have by that means a free and ready acceſs to this place; nigh to which the French formed a ſettlement, to ſecure their intereſt on the frontiers of all our ſouthern colonies. In ſhort this place is the centre of that vaſt continent, and of all the nations in it, and ſeems to be intended by nature to command them both; for which reaſon it ought no longer to be neglected by Britain. As ſoon as we paſs the Apalachean mountains, this ſeems to be the moſt proper place to ſettle at; and was pitched upon for that purpoſe, by thoſe who were the beſt acquainted with thoſe countries, and the proper places of making ſettlements in them, of any we know. And if the ſettlements at this place had been made, as they were propoſed, about twenty years ago, they might have prevented, or at leaſt fruſtrated, the late attempts

tempts to wreſt that country, and the territories of the Ohio, out of the hands of the Engliſh; and they may do the ſame again.

But many will tell us, that thoſe inland parts of North America will be of no uſe to Britain, on account of their diſtance from the ſea, and inconvenience to navigation. That indeed might be ſaid of the parts which lie immediately beyond the mountains, as the country of the Cherokees, and Ohio Indians about Pitſburg, the only countries thereabouts that we can extend our ſettlements to; which are ſo inconvenient to navigation, that nothing can be brought from them acroſs the mountains, at leaſt none of thoſe groſs commodities, which are the ſtaple of North America; and they are as inconvenient to have any thing carried from them, nigh two thouſand miles, down the river Ohio, and then by the Miſſiſippi. For that reaſon thoſe countries, which we look upon to be the moſt convenient, are the moſt inconvenient to us of any, although they join upon our preſent ſettlements. It is for theſe reaſons, that the firſt ſettlements we make beyond the mountains, that is, beyond thoſe we are now poſſeſſed of, ſhould be upon the Miſſiſippi, as we have ſaid, convenient to the navigation of that river; and in time thoſe new ſettlements may come to join to our preſent plantations; and we may by that means reap the benefit of all thoſe inland parts of North America, by means of the navigation of the Miſſiſippi, which will be ſecured by this poſt at the Forks. If that is not done, we cannot ſee how any of thoſe inland parts of America, and the territories of the Ohio, which were the great objects

of the preſent war, can ever be of any uſe to Britain, as the inhabitants of all thoſe countries can otherwiſe have little or no correſpondence with it.

IV. This famous river, the Miſſiſippi, is navigable upwards of two thouſand miles, to the falls of St. Anthony in latitude 45°, the only fall we know in it, which is 16 degrees of latitude above its mouth; and even above that fall, our author tells us, there is thirty fathom of water in the river, with a proportionable breadth. About one thouſand miles from its mouth it receives the river Ohio, which is navigable one thouſand miles farther, ſome ſay one thouſand five hundred, nigh to its ſource, not far from Lake Ontario in New York; in all which ſpace there is but one fall or rapide in the Ohio, and that navigable both up and down, at leaſt in canoes. This fall is three hundred miles from the Miſſiſippi, and one thouſand three hundred from the ſea, with five fathom of water up to it. The other large branches of the Ohio, the river of the Cherokees, and the Wabache, afford a like navigation, from lake Erie in the north to the Cherokees in the ſouth, and from thence to the bay of Mexico, by the Miſſiſippi: not to mention the great river Miſſouri, which runs to the north-weſt parts of New Mexico, much farther than we have any good accounts of that continent. From this it appears, that the Miſſouri affords the moſt extenſive navigation of any river we know; ſo that it may juſtly be compared to an inland ſea, which ſpreads over nine tenths of all the continent of North America; all which the French pretended to lay claim to, for no other

reaſon

reaſon but becauſe they were poſſeſſed of a paltry ſettlement at the mouth of this river.

If thoſe things are conſidered, the importance of the navigation of the Miſſiſippi, and of a port at the mouth of it, will abundantly appear. Whatever that navigation is, good or bad, it is the only one for all the interior parts of North America, which are as large as a great part of Europe; no part of which can be of any ſervice to Britain, without the navigation of the Miſſiſippi, and ſettlements upon it. It is not without reaſon then, that we ſay, whoever are poſſeſſed of this river, and of the vaſt tracts of fertile lands upon it, muſt in time command that continent, and the trade of it, as well as all the natives in it, by the ſupplies which this navigation will enable them to furniſh thoſe people. By thoſe means, if the French, or any others, are left in poſſeſſion of the Miſſiſippi, while we neglect it, they muſt command all that continent beyond the Apalachean mountains, and diſturb our ſettlements much more than ever they did, or were able to do; the very thing they engaged in this war to accompliſh, and we to prevent.

The Miſſiſippi indeed is rapid for twelve hundred miles, as far as to the Miſſouri, which makes it difficult to go up the river by water. For that reaſon the French have been uſed to quit the Miſſiſippi at the river St. Francis, from which they have a nigher way to the Forks of the Miſſiſippi by land. But however difficult it may be to aſcend the river, it is, notwithſtanding, often done; and its rapidity facilitates a deſcent upon it, and a ready conveyance for thoſe groſs commodities, which are the chief

ſtaple

ſtaple of North America, from the moſt remote places of the continent above mentioned: and as for lighter European goods, they are more eaſily carried by land, as our Indian traders do, over great part of the continent, on their horſes, of which this country abounds with great plenty.

The worſt part of the navigation, as well as of the country, is reckoned to be at the mouth of the river; which, however, our author tells us, is from ſeventeen to eighteen feet deep, and will admit ſhips of five hundred tons, the largeſt generally uſed in the plantation trade. And even this navigation might be eaſily mended, not only by clearing the river of a narrow bar in the paſſes, which our author, Charlevoix, and others, think might be eaſily done; but likewiſe by means of a bay, deſcribed by Mr. Coxe, from the actual ſurvey of his people, lying to the weſtward of the ſouth paſs of the river; which, he ſays, has from twenty-five to ſix fathom water in it, cloſe to the ſhore, and not above a mile from the Miſſiſippi, above all the ſhoals and difficult paſſes in it, and where the river has one hundred feet of water. By cutting through that one mile then, it would appear that a port might be made there for ſhips of any burden; the importance of which is evident, from its commanding all the inland parts of North America on one ſide, and the paſs from Mexico on the other; ſo as to be preferable in theſe reſpects even to the Havanna; not to mention that it is freſh water, and free from worms, which deſtroy all the ſhips in thoſe parts.

And as for the navigation from the Miſſiſippi to Europe, our author ſhews that voyage may be performed

formed in ſix weeks; which is as ſhort a time as our ſhips generally take to go to and from our colonies. They go to the Miſſiſippi with the trade winds, and return with the currents.

It would lead us beyond the bounds of a preface, to ſhew the many advantages of thoſe lands on the Miſſiſippi to Britain, or the neceſſity of poſſeſſing them. That would require a treatiſe by itſelf, of which we can only give a few abſtracts in this place. For this purpoſe we ſhould compare thoſe lands with our preſent colonies; and ſhould be well informed of the quantity and condition of the lands we already poſſeſs, before we can form any juſt judgement of what may be farther proper or requiſite.

Our preſent poſſeſſions in North America between the ſea and the mountains appear, from many ſurveys and actual menſurations, as well as from all the maps and other accounts we have of them, to be at a medium about three degrees of longitude, or one hundred and forty miles broad, in a ſtraight line; and they extend from Georgia, in latitude 32°, to the bay of Fundi, in latitude 45° (which is much farther both north and ſouth than the lands appear to be of any great value); which makes 13 degrees difference of latitude, or 780 miles: this length multiplied by the breadth 140, makes 109,200 ſquare miles. This is not above as much land as is contained in Britain and Ireland; which, by Templeman's Survey, make 105,634 ſquare miles. Inſtead of being as large as a great part of Europe then, as we are commonly told, all the lands we poſſeſs in North America, between the ſea and mountains, do not amount to much more than

than theſe two iſlands. This appears farther, from the particular ſurveys of each of our colonies, as well as from this general eſtimate of the whole.

Of theſe lands which we thus poſſeſs, both the northern and ſouthern parts are very poor and barren, and produce little or nothing, at leaſt for Britain. It is only in our middle plantations, Virginia, Maryland, and Carolina, that the lands produce any ſtaple commodity for Britain, or that appear to be fit for that purpoſe. In ſhort, it is only the more rich and fertile lands on and about Cheſapeak bay, with a few ſwamps in Carolina, like the lands on the Miſſiſippi, that turn to any great account to this nation in all North America, or that are ever likely to do it. This makes the quantity of lands that produce any ſtaple commodity for Britain in North America incredibly ſmall, and vaſtly leſs than what is commonly imagined. It is reckoned, that there are more ſuch lands in Virginia, than in all the reſt of our colonies; and yet it appeared from the public records, about twenty-five years ago, that there was not above as much land patented in that colony, which is at the ſame time the oldeſt of any in all North America, than is in the county of Yorkſhire, in England, to wit, 4684 ſquare miles; although the country was then ſettled to the mountains.

If we examine all our other colonies, there will appear to be as great a ſcarcity and want of good lands in them, at leaſt to anſwer the great end of colonies, the making of a ſtaple commodity for Britain. In ſhort, our colonies are already ſettled to the mountains, and have no lands, either to extend

tend their ſettlements, as they increaſe and multiply; to keep up their plantations of ſtaple commodities for Britain; or to enlarge the Britiſh dominions by the number of foreigners that remove to them; till they paſs thoſe mountains, and ſettle on the Miſſiſippi.

This ſcarcity of land in our colonies proceeds from the mountains, with which they are ſurrounded, and by which they are confined to this narrow tract, and a low vale, along the ſea ſide. The breadth of the continent from the Atlantic ocean to the Miſſiſippi, appears to be about 600 miles (of 60 to a degree) of which there is about 140 at a medium, or 150 at moſt, that lies between the ſea and mountains: and there is ſuch another, and rather more fertile tract of level and improveable lands, about the ſame breadth, between the weſtern parts of thoſe mountains and the Miſſiſippi: ſo that the mountainous country which lies between theſe two, is equal to them both, and makes one half of all the lands between the Miſſiſippi and Atlantic ocean; if we except a ſmall tract of a level champaign country upon the heads of the Ohio, which is poſſeſſed by the Six Nations, and their dependents. Theſe mountainous and barren deſarts, which lie immediately beyond our preſent ſettlements, are not only unfit for culture themſelves, and ſo inconvenient to navigation, whether to the ocean, or to the Miſſiſippi, that little or no uſe can be made of them; but they likewiſe preclude us from any acceſs to thoſe more fertile lands that lie beyond them, which would otherwiſe have been occupied long ago, but never can be ſettled, ſo at leaſt as to turn to any account to Britain, without the poſſeſſion

and navigation of the Miſſiſippi; which is, as it were, the ſea of all the inland parts of North America beyond the Apalachean mountains, without which thoſe inland parts of that continent can never turn to any account to this nation.

It is this our ſituation in North America, that renders all that continent beyond our preſent ſettlements of little or no uſe, at leaſt to Britain; and makes the poſſeſſion of the Miſſiſippi abſolutely neceſſary to reap the benefit of it. We poſſeſs but a fourth part of the continent between that river and the ocean; and but a tenth part of what lies eaſt of Mexico; and can never enjoy any great advantages from any more of it, till we ſettle on the Miſſiſippi.

How neceſſary ſuch ſettlements on the Miſſiſippi may be, will farther appear from what we poſſeſs on this ſide of it. The lands in North America are in general but very poor or barren; and if any of them are more fertile, the ſoil is light and ſhallow, and ſoon worn out with culture. It is only the virgin fertility of freſh lands, ſuch as thoſe on the Miſſiſippi, that makes the lands in North America appear to be fruitful, or that renders them of any great value to this nation. But ſuch lands in our colonies, that have hitherto produced their ſtaple commodities for Britain, are now exhauſted and worn out, and we meet with none ſuch on this ſide of the Miſſiſippi. But when their lands are worn out, neither the value of their commodities, nor the circumſtances of the planters, will admit of manuring them, at leaſt to any great advantage to this nation.

The ſtaple commodities of North America are ſo groſs and bulky, and of ſo ſmall value, that it generally

nerally takes one half of them to pay the freight and other charges in ſending them to Britain; ſo that unleſs our planters have ſome advantage in making them, ſuch as cheap, rich, and freſh lands, they never can make any; their returns to Britain are then neglected, and the trade is gained by others who have theſe advantages; ſuch as thoſe who may be poſſeſſed of the Miſſiſippi, or by the Germans, Ruſſians, Turks, &c. who have plenty of lands, and labour cheap: by which means they make more of our ſtaple of North America, tobacco, than we do ourſelves; while we cannot make their ſtaple of hemp, flax, iron, pot-aſh, &c. By that means our people are obliged to interfere with their mother country, for want of the uſe of thoſe lands of which there is ſuch plenty in North America, to produce theſe commodities that are ſo much wanted from thence.

The conſequences of this may be much more prejudicial to this nation, than is commonly apprehended. This trade of North America, whatever may be the income from it, conſiſts in thoſe groſs and bulky commodities that are the chief and principal ſources of navigation; which maintain whole countries to make them, whole fleets to tranſport them, and numbers of people to manufacture them at home; on which accounts this trade is more profitable to a nation, than the mines of Mexico or Peru. If we compare this with other branches of trade, as the ſugar trade, or even the fiſhery, it will appear to be by far the moſt profitable to the nation, whatever thoſe others may be to a few individuals. We ſet a great value on the fiſhery, in which we do not employ a third part of the ſeamen that we do in

the plantation trade of North America; and the ſame may be ſaid of the ſugar trade. The tobacco trade alone employs more ſeamen in Britain, than either the fiſhery, or ſugar trade*; and brings in more money to the nation than all the products of America perhaps put together.

But thoſe groſs commodities that afford theſe ſources of navigation, however valuable they may be to the public, and to this nation in particular, are far from being ſo to individuals: they are cheap, and of ſmall value, either to make, or to trade in them; and for that reaſon they are neglected by private people, who never think of making them, unleſs the public takes care to give them all due encouragement, and to ſet them about thoſe employments; for which purpoſe good and proper lands, ſuch as thoſe on the Miſſiſippi, are abſolutely neceſſary, without which nothing can be done.

The many advantages of ſuch lands that produce a ſtaple for Britain, in North America, are not to be told. The whole intereſt of the nation in thoſe colonies

* By the beſt accounts we have, there were 4000 ſeamen employed in the tobacco trade, in the year 1733, when the inſpection on tobacco paſſed into a law; and we may perhaps reckon them now 4500, although ſome reckon them leſs.

By the ſame accounts, taken by the cuſtom-houſe officers, it appeared, that the number of Britiſh ſhips employed in all America, including the fiſhery, were 1400, with 17,000 ſeamen; beſides 9000 or 10,000 ſeamen belonging to North-America, who are all ready to enter into the ſervice of Britain on any emergency or encouragement.

Of theſe there were but 4000 ſeamen employed in the fiſhery from Britain; and about as many, or 3600, in the ſugar trade.

The French, on the other hand, employ upwards of 20,000 ſeamen in the fiſhery, and many more than we do in the ſugar trade.

In ſhort, the plantation trade of North America is to Britain, what the fiſhery is to France, the great nurſery of ſeamen, which may be much improved. It is for this reaſon that we have always thought this nation ought, for its ſafety, to enjoy an excluſive right to the one or the other of theſe at leaſt.

colonies depends upon them, if not the colonies themſelves. Such lands alone enable the colonies to take their manufactures and other neceſſaries from Britain, to the mutual advantage of both. And how neceſſary that may be will appear from the ſtate of thoſe colonies in North America, which do not make, one with another, as much as is ſufficient to ſupply them only with the neceſſary article of cloathing; not to mention the many other things they want and take from Britain; and even how they pay for that is more than any man can tell. In ſhort, it would appear that our colonies in North America cannot ſubſiſt much longer, if at all, in a ſtate of dependance for all their manufactures and other neceſſaries, unleſs they are provided with other lands that may enable them to purchaſe them; and where they will find any ſuch lands, but upon the Miſſiſippi, is more than we can tell. When their lands are worn out, are poor and barren, or in an improper climate or ſituation, ſo that they will produce nothing to ſend to Britain, ſuch lands can only be converted into corn and paſture grounds; and the people in our colonies are thereby neceſſarily obliged, for a bare ſubſiſtence, to interfere with Britain, not only in manufactures, but in the very produce of their lands.

By this we may perceive the abſurdity of the popular outcry, that we have already *land enough*, and more than we can make uſe of in North America. They who may be of that opinion ſhould ſhew us, where that land is to be found, and what it will produce, that may turn to any account to the nation. Thoſe people derive their opinion from what they ſee in Europe, where the quantity of land that we

poſſeſs in North America, will, no doubt, maintain a greater number of people than we have there. But they ſhould conſider, that thoſe people in Europe are not maintained by the planting of a bare raw commodity, with ſuch immenſe charges upon it, but by farming, manufactures, trade, and commerce; which they will ſoon reduce our colonies to, who would confine them to their preſent ſettlements, between the ſea coaſt and the mountains that ſurround them.

Some of our colonies perhaps may imagine they cannot ſubſiſt without theſe employments; which indeed would appear to be the caſe in their preſent ſtate: but that ſeems to be as contrary to their true intereſt, as it is to their condition of Britiſh colonies. They have neither ſkill, materials, nor any other conveniencies to make manufactures; whereas their lands require only culture to produce a ſtaple commodity, providing they are poſſeſſed of ſuch as are fit for that purpoſe. Manufactures are the produce of labour, which is both ſcarce and dear among them; whereas lands are, or may, and ſhould be made, both cheap and in plenty; by which they may always reap much greater profits from the one than the other. That is, moreover, a certain pledge for the allegiance and dependance of the colonies; and at the ſame time makes their dependance to become their *intereſt*. It has been found by frequent experience, that the making of a ſtaple commodity for Britain, is more profitable than manufactures, providing they have good lands to work.

It were to be wiſhed indeed, that we could ſupport our intereſt in America, and thoſe ſources of navigation, by countries that were more convenient

to

to it, than thoſe on the Miſſiſippi. But that, we fear, is not to be done, however it may be deſired. We wiſh we could ſay as much of the lands in Florida, and on the bay of Mexico, as of thoſe on the Miſſiſippi: but they are not to be compared to theſe, by all accounts, however convenient they may be in other reſpects to navigation. In all thoſe ſouthern and maritime parts of that continent the lands are in general but very poor and mean, being little more than *pine barrens*, or *ſandy deſarts*. The climate is at the ſame time ſo intemperate, that white people are in a great meaſure unfit for labour in it, as much as they are in the iſlands; this obliges them to make uſe of ſlaves, which are now become ſo dear, that it is to be doubted, whether all the produce of thoſe lands will enable the proprietors of them to purchaſe ſlaves, or any other labourers; without which they can turn to little or no account to the nation, and thoſe countries can ſupport but very few people, if it were only to protect and defend them.

The moſt convenient part of thoſe countries ſeems to be about Mobile and Penſacola; which are, as it were, an entrepot between our preſent ſettlements and the Miſſiſippi, and ſafe ſtation for our ſhips. But it is a pity that the lands about them are the moſt barren, and the climate the moſt intemperate, by all accounts, of any perhaps in all America *. And our author tells us, the lands are not much better even on the river of Mobile; which is but a very inconſiderable one. But the great inconvenience of thoſe countries proceeds from the number of Indians

* See page 49, 111, &c. *Charlevoix* Hiſt. N. France, Tom. III. 484. *Laval, infra*, &c.

in them; which will make it very difficult to ſettle any profitable plantations among them, eſpecially in the inland parts that are more fertile; whereas the Miſſiſippi is free from Indians for 1000 miles. It was but in the year 1715, that thoſe Indians overran all the colony of Carolina, even to Charles-Town; by which the French got poſſeſſion of that country, and of the Miſſiſippi; both which they had juſt before, in June 1713, diſpoſſeſſed us of.

If we turn our eyes again to the lands in our northern colonies, it is to be feared we can expect much leſs from them. There is an inconvenience attending them, with regard to any improvements on them for Britain, which is not to be remedied. The climate is ſo ſevere, and the winters ſo long, that the people are obliged to ſpend that time in providing the neceſſaries of life, which ſhould be employed in profitable colonies, on the making of ſome ſtaple commodity, and returns to Britain. They are obliged to feed their creatures for five or ſix months in the year, which employs their time in ſummer, and takes up the beſt of their lands, ſuch as they are, which ſhould produce their ſtaple commodities, to provide for themſelves and their ſtocks againſt winter. For that reaſon the people in all our northern colonies are neceſſarily obliged to become farmers, to make corn and proviſions, inſtead of planters, who make a ſtaple commodity for Britain; and thereby interfere with their mother country in the moſt material and eſſential of all employments to a nation, agriculture.

In ſhort, neither the ſoil nor climate will admit of any improvements for Britain, in any of thoſe northern colonies. If they would produce any thing

of that kind, it muſt be hemp; which never could be made in them to any advantage, as appears from many trials of it in New England *. The great dependance of thoſe northern colonies is upon the ſupplies of lumber and proviſions which they ſend to the iſlands. But as they increaſe and multiply, their woods are cut down, lumber becomes ſcarce and dear, and the number of people inhances the value of land, and of every thing it produces, eſpecially proviſions.

If this is the caſe of thoſe northern colonies on the ſea coaſt, what can we expect from the inland parts; in which the ſoil is not only more barren, and the climate more ſevere, but they are, with all theſe diſadvantages, ſo inconvenient to navigation, both on account of their diſtance, and of the many falls and currents in the river St. Lawrence, that it is to be feared thoſe inland parts of our northern colonies will never produce any thing for Britain, more than a few furrs; which they will do much better in the hands of the natives, than in ours.

Theſe our northern colonies, however, are very populous, and increaſe and multiply very faſt. There are above a million of people in them, who can make but very little upon their lands for themſelves, and ſtill leſs for their mother country. For theſe reaſons it is preſumed, it would be an advantage to them, as well as to the whole nation, to remove their ſpare people, who want lands, to thoſe vacant lands in the ſouthern parts of the continent, which turn to ſo much greater account than any that they are poſſeſſed of. There they may have the neceſ-

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* See *Douglas*'s Hiſt. N. America. *Elliot*'s Improvements on New England, &c.

ſaries of life in the greateſt plenty; their ſtocks maintain themſelves the whole year round, with little or no coſt or labour; "by which means many people have a thouſand head of cattle, and for one man to have two hundred, is very common, with other ſtock in proportion *." This enables them to beſtow their whole labour, both in ſummer and winter, on the making of ſome ſtaple commodity for Britain, getting lumber and proviſions for the iſlands, &c. which both enriches them and the whole nation. That is much better, ſurely, than to periſh in winter for want of cloathing, which they muſt do unleſs they make it; and to excite thoſe grudges and jealouſies, which muſt ever ſubſiſt between them and their mother country in their preſent ſtate, and grow ſo much the worſe, the longer they continue in it.

The many advantages that would enſue from the peopling of thoſe ſouthern parts of the continent from our northern colonies, are hardly to be told. We might thereby people and ſecure thoſe countries, and reap the profits of them, without any loſs of people; which are not to be ſpared for that purpoſe in Britain, or any other of her dominions. This is the great uſe and advantage that may be made of the expulſion of the French from thoſe northern parts of America. They have hitherto obliged us to ſtrengthen thoſe northern colonies, and have confined the people in them to towns and townſhips, in which their labour could turn to no great account, either to themſelves or to the nation, by which we have, in a great meaſure, loſt the labour of one half of the people in our colonies. But

* Deſcription of South Carolina, p. 68.

But as they are now free from any danger on their borders, they may extend their ſettlements with ſafety, diſperſe themſelves on plantations, and cultivate thoſe lands that may turn to ſome account, both to them and to the whole nation. In ſhort, they may now make ſome ſtaple commodity for Britain; on which the intereſt of the colonies, and of the nation in them, chiefly depends; and which we can never expect from thoſe colonies in their preſent ſituation.

What thoſe commodities are, that we might get from thoſe ſouthern parts of North America, will appear from the following accounts; which we have not room here to conſider more particularly. We need only mention hemp, flax, and ſilk, thoſe great articles and neceſſary materials of manufactures; for which alone this nation pays at leaſt a million and an half a-year, if not two millions, and could never get them from all the colonies we have. Cotton and indigo are equally uſeful. Not to mention copper, iron, potaſh, &c. which, with hemp, flax, and ſilk, make the great balance of trade againſt the nation, and drain it of its treaſure; when we might have thoſe commodities from our colonies for manufactures, and both ſupply ourſelves and others with them. Wine, oil, raiſins, and currants, &c. thoſe products of France and Spain, on which Britain expends ſo much of her treaſure, to enrich her enemies, might likewiſe be had from thoſe her own dominions. Britain might thereby cut off thoſe reſources of her enemies; ſecure her colonies for the future; and prevent ſuch calamities of war, by cultivating thoſe more laudable arts of peace: which will be the more neceſſary, as theſe

are

are the only advantages the nation can expect, for the many millions that have been expended on America.

A Deſcription of the Harbour of PENSACOLA.

AS the harbour of Penſacola will appear to be a conſiderable acquiſition to Britain, it may be ſome ſatisfaction to give the following account of it, from F. Laval, royal profeſſor of mathematics, and maſter of the marine academy at Toulon; who was ſent to Louiſiana, on purpoſe to make obſervations, in 1719; and had the accounts of the officers who took Penſacola at that time, and ſurveyed the place.

"The colonies of Penſacola, and of Dauphin-Iſland, are at preſent on the decline, the inhabitants having removed to ſettle at Mobile and Biloxi, or at New-Orleans, where the lands are much better; for at the firſt the ſoil is chiefly ſand, mixed with little earth. The land, however, is covered with woods of pines, firs, and oaks; which make good trees, as well as at Ship-Iſland. The road of Penſacola is the only good port thereabouts for large ſhips, and Ship-Iſland for ſmall ones, where veſſels that draw from thirteen to fourteen feet water, may ride in ſafety, under the iſland, in fifteen feet, and a good holding ground; as well as in the other ports, which are all only open roads, expoſed to the ſouth, and from weſt to eaſt.

"Penſacola is in north-latitude 30° 25′; and is the only road in the bay of Mexico, in which ſhips can be ſafe from all winds. It is land-locked on every ſide, and will hold a great number of ſhips, which

which have very good anchorage in it, in a good holding ground of ſoft ſand, and from twenty-five to thirty-four feet of water. You will find not leſs than twenty-one feet of water on the barr, which is at the entrance into the road, providing you keep in the deepeſt part of the channel. Before a ſhip enters the harbour, ſhe ſhould bring the fort of Penſacola to bear between north and north $\frac{1}{4}$ eaſt, and keep that courſe till ſhe is weſt or weſt $\frac{1}{4}$ ſouth, from the fort on the iſland of St. Roſe, that is, till that fort bears eaſt, and eaſt $\frac{1}{4}$ north. Then ſhe muſt bear away a little to the land on the weſt ſide, keeping about mid-way between that and the iſland, to avoid a bank on this laſt, which runs out to ſome diſtance weſt-north-weſt from the point of the iſland.

" If there are any breakers on the ledge of rocks, which lie to the weſtward of the barr, as often happens; if there is any wind, that may ſerve for a mark to ſhips, which ſteer along that ledge, at the diſtance of a good muſket-ſhot, as they enter upon the barr; then keep the courſe above mentioned. Sometimes the currents ſet very ſtrong out of the road, which you ſhould take care of, leſt they ſhould carry you upon theſe rocks.

" As there is but half a foot riſing *(levée)* on the barr of Penſacola, every ſhip of war, if it be not in a ſtorm, may depend upon nineteen (perhaps twenty) feet of water, to go into the harbour, as there are twenty-one feet on the barr. Ships that draw twenty feet muſt be towed in. By this we ſee, that ſhips of ſixty guns may go into this harbour: and even ſeventy gun ſhips, the largeſt requiſite in that country in time of war, if they were built flat-bottomed,

like

like the Dutch ſhips, might paſs every where in that harbour.

" In 1719 Penſacola was taken by Mr. Champmelin, in the Hercules man of war, of ſixty-four guns, but carried only fifty-ſix; in company with the Mars, pierced for ſixty guns, but had in only fifty-four; and the Triton, pierced for fifty-four guns, but carried only fifty; with two frigates of thirty-ſix and twenty guns *.

" This road is ſubject to one inconvenience; ſeveral rivers fall into it, which occaſion ſtrong currents, and make boats or canoes, as they paſs backwards and forwards, apt to run a-ground; but as the bottom is all ſand, they are not apt to founder. On the other hand there is a great advantage in this road; it is free from worms, which never breed in freſh water, ſo that veſſels are never worm-eaten in it."

But F. Charlevoix ſeems to contradict this laſt circumſtance: " The bay of Penſacola would be a pretty good port, (ſays he) if the worms did not eat the veſſels in it, and if there was a little more water in the entrance into it; for the Hercules, commanded by Mr. Champmelin, touched upon it."

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* The admiral was on board of the Hercules, which drew twenty-one feet of water, and there were but twenty-two feet into the harbour in the higheſt tides; ſo that they deſpaired of carrying in this ſhip. But an old Canadian, named Grimeau, a man of experience, who was perfectly acquainted with that coaſt, boaſted of being able to do it, and ſucceeded; for which he was the next year honoured with letters of nobleſſe. *Dumont* (an officer there at that time) II. 22.

But *Bellin*, from the charts of the admiralty, makes but twenty feet of water on the barr of Penſacola. The difference may ariſe from the tides, which are very irregular and uncertain on all that coaſt, according to the winds; never riſing above three feet, ſometimes much leſs. In twenty-four hours the tide ebbs in the harbour for eighteen or nineteen hours, and flows five or ſix. *Laval.*

It is not ſo certain then, that this harbour is altogether free from worms; although it may not be ſo ſubject to them, as other places in thoſe climes, from the many ſmall freſh water rivers that fall into this bay, which may have been the occaſion of theſe accounts, that are ſeemingly contradictory.

In ſuch a place ſhips might at leaſt be preſerved from worms, in all likelihood, by paying their bottoms with aloes, or mixing it with their other ſtuff. That has been found to prevent the biting of theſe worms; and might be had in plenty on the ſpot. Many kinds of aloes would grow on the barren ſandy lands about Penſacola, and in Florida, which is the proper ſoil for them; and would be a good improvement for thoſe lands, which will hardly bear any thing elſe to advantage, whatever uſe is made of it.

Having room in this place, we may fill it up with an anſwer to a common objection againſt Louiſiana; which is, that this country is never likely to turn to any account, becauſe the French have made ſo little of it.

But that objection, however common, will appear to proceed only from the ignorance of thoſe who make it. No country can produce any thing without labourers; which, it is certain, the French have never had in Louiſiana, in any numbers at leaſt, ſufficient to make it turn to any greater account than it has hitherto done. The reaſon of this appears not to be owing to the country, but to their proceedings and miſconduct in it. Out of the many thouſand people who were contracted for by the grantees, to be ſent to Louiſiana in 1719, there were but eight hundred ſent, we ſee; and of theſe the greateſt part were ruined by their idle ſchemes,

which

which made them and others abandon the country entirely. The few again who remained in it were cut off by an Indian maſſacre in 1729, which broke up the only promiſing ſettlements they had in the country, thoſe of the Natchez, and Yaſous, which were never afterwards reinſtated. Inſtead of encouraging the colony in ſuch misfortunes, the miniſter, Cardinal Fleuri, either from a ſpirit of œconomy, or becauſe it might be contrary to ſome other of his views, withdrew his protection from it, gave up the public plantations, and muſt thereby, no doubt, have very much diſcouraged others. By theſe means they have had few or no people in Louiſiana, but ſuch as were condemned to be ſent to it for their crimes, women of ill fame, deſerted ſoldiers, inſolvent debtors, and galley-ſlaves, *forçats*, as they call them; "who, looking on the country only as a place of exile, were diſheartened at every thing in it; and had no regard for the progreſs of a colony, of which they were only members by compulſion, and neither knew nor conſidered its advantages to the ſtate. It is from ſuch people that many have taken their accounts of this country; and throw the blame of all miſcarriages in it upon the country, when they are only owing to the incapacity and negligence of thoſe who were intruſted to ſettle it *."

* *Charlevoix* Hiſt. New France, Tom. III. p. 447.

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B. of Biloxi
B. & R. of the Pucha-Goulas
B. & Ri. of S. Louis
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Tangypar R.
Amit R.
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Cut Point
Man chac
Ouma
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Massacre I.
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I. of Cats
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THE HISTORY OF LOUISIANA.

BOOK I.

The Tranſactions of the French *in* LOUISIANA.

CHAP. I.

Of the firſt Diſcovery and Settlement of LOUISIANA.

AFTER the Spaniards came to have ſettlements on the Great Antilles, it was not long before they attempted to make diſcoveries on the coaſts of the Gulf of Mexico. In 1520, Lucas Vaſquez de Aillon landed on the continent to the north of that Gulf, being favourably received by the people of that country, who made him preſents in gold, pearls, and plated ſilver. This favourable reception made him return thither four years after; but the natives having changed their friendly ſentiments towards him, killed two hundred of his men, and obliged him to retire.

In 1528, Pamphilo Neſunez * landed alſo on that coaſt, receiving from the firſt nations he met in his way, preſents made in gold; which, by ſigns, they made him to

* Narvaez.

underſtand, came from the Apalachean mountains, in the country which at this day goes under the name of Florida: and thither he attempted to go, undertaking a hazardous journey of twenty-five days. In this march he was ſo often attacked by the new people he continually diſcovered, and loſt ſo many of his men, as only to think of re-embarking with the few that were left, happy to have himſelf eſcaped the dangers which his imprudence had expoſed him to.

The relation publiſhed by the Hiſtorian of Dominico * Soto, who in 1539 landed in the Bay of St. Eſprit, is ſo romantic, and ſo conſtantly contradicted by all who have travelled that country, that far from giving credit to it, we ought rather to ſuppoſe his enterprize had no ſucceſs; as no traces of it have remained, any more than of thoſe that went before. The inutility of theſe attempts proved no manner of diſcouragement to the Spaniards. After the diſcovery of Florida, it was with a jealous eye they ſaw the French ſettle there in 1564, under René de Laudonniere, ſent thither by the Admiral de Coligni, where he built Fort Carolin; the ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen above the Fort of Penſacola †. There the Spaniards ſome time after attacked them, and forcing them to capitulate, cruelly murdered them, without any regard had to the treaty concluded between them. As France was at that time involved in the calamities of a religious war, this act of barbarity had remained unreſented, had not a ſingle man of Mont Marſan, named Dominique de Gourges, attempted, in the name of the nation, to take vengeance thereof. In 1567, having fitted out a veſſel, and ſailed for Florida, he took three forts built by the Spaniards; and after killing many of them in the ſeveral attacks he made, hanged the reſt: and having

* Ferdinando.

† This intended ſettlement of Admiral Coligni was on the eaſt coaſt of Florida, about St. Auguſtin, inſtead of Penſacola. De Laet is of opinion, that their Fort Carolin was the ſame with St. Auguſtin.

having ſettled there a new poſt *, returned to France. But the diſorders of the ſtate having prevented the maintaining that poſt, the Spaniards ſoon after retook poſſeſſion of the country, where they remain to this day.

From that time the French ſeemed to have dropped all thoughts of that coaſt, or of attempting any diſcoveries therein; when the wars in Canada with the natives afforded them the knowledge of the vaſt country they are poſſeſſed of at this day. In one of theſe wars a Recollet, or Franciſcan Friar, name F. Hennepin, was taken and carried to the Illinois. As he had ſome ſkill in ſurgery, he proved ſerviceable to that people, and was alſo kindly treated by them: and being at full liberty, he travelled over the country, following for a conſiderable time the banks of the river St. Louis, or Miſſiſipi, without being able to proceed to its mouth. However, he failed not to take poſſeſſion of that country, in the name of Louis XIV. calling it Louiſiana. Providence having facilitated his return to Canada, he gave the moſt advantageous account of all he had ſeen; and after his return to France, drew up a relation thereof, dedicated to M. Colbert.

The account he gave of Louiſiana failed not to produce its good effects. Me de la Salle, equally famous for his misfortunes and his courage, undertook to traverſe theſe unknown countries quite to the ſea. In Jan. 1679 he ſet out from Quebec with a large detachment, and being come among the Illinois, there built the firſt fort France ever had in that country, calling it Crevecœur; and there he left a good garriſon under the command of the Chevalier de Tonti. From thence he went down the river St. Louis, quite to its mouth; which, as has been ſaid, is in the Gulf of Mexico: and having made obſervations, and taken the elevation in the beſt manner he could, returned by the ſame way to Quebec, from whence he paſſed over to France.

* He abandoned the country without making any ſettlement; nor have the French ever had any ſettlement in it from that day to this. See Laudonniere, Hakluyt, &c.

After giving the particulars of his journey to M. Colbert, that great miniſter, who knew of what importance it was to the ſtate to make ſure of ſo fine and extenſive a country, ſcrupled not to allow him a ſhip and a ſmall frigate, in order to find out, by the way of the gulf of Mexico, the mouth of the river St. Louis. He ſet ſail in 1685: but his obſervations, doubtleſs, not having had all the juſtneſs requiſite, after arriving in the gulf, he got beyond the river, and running too far weſtward, entered the bay of St. Bernard: and ſome miſunderſtanding happening between him and the officers of the veſſels, he debarqued with the men under his command, and having ſettled a poſt in that place, undertook to go by land in queſt of the great river. But after a march of ſeveral days, ſome of his people, irritated on account of the fatigue he expoſed them to, availing themſelves of an opportunity, when ſeparated from the reſt of his men, baſely aſſaſſinated him. The ſoldiers, though deprived of their commander, ſtill continued their route, and, after croſſing many rivers, arrived at length at the Arkanſas, where they unexpectedly found a French poſt lately ſettled. The Chevalier de Tonti was gone down from the fort of the Illinois, quite to the mouth of the river, about the time he judged M. de la Salle might have arrived by ſea; and not finding him, was gone up again, in order to return to his poſt. And in his way entering the river of the Arkanſas, quite to the village of that nation, with whom he made an alliance, ſome of his people inſiſted, they might be allowed to ſettle there; which was agreed to, he leaving ten of them in that place: and this ſmall cantonment maintained its ground, not only becauſe from time to time encreaſed by ſome Canadians, who came down this river; but above all, becauſe thoſe who formed it had the prudent precaution to live in peace with the natives, and treat as legitimate the children they had by the daughters of the Arkanſas, with whom they matched out of neceſſity.

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The report of the pleaſantneſs of Louiſiana ſpreading through Canada, many Frenchmen of that country repaired to ſettle there, diſperſing themſelves at pleaſure along the river St. Louis, eſpecially towards its mouth, and even in ſome iſlands on the coaſt, and on the river Mobile, which lies nearer Canada. The facility of the commerce with St. Domingo was, undoubtedly, what invited them to the neighbourhood of the ſea, though the interior parts of the country be in all reſpects far preferable. However, theſe ſcattered ſettlements, incapable to maintain their ground of themſelves, and too diſtant to be able to afford mutual aſſiſtance, neither warranted the poſſeſſion of this country, nor could they be called a taking of poſſeſſion. Louiſiana remained in this neglected ſtate, till M. d'Hiberville, Chef d'Eſcadre, having diſcovered, in 1698, the mouths of the river St. Louis, and being nominated Governor General of that vaſt country, carried thither the firſt colony in 1699. As he was a native of Canada, the colony almoſt entirely conſiſted of Canadians, among whom M. de Luchereau, uncle of Madam d'Hiberville, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf.

The ſettlement was made on the river Mobile, with all the facility that could be wiſhed; but its progreſs proved ſlow: for theſe firſt inhabitants had no other advantage above the natives, as to the neceſſaries of life, but what their own induſtry, joined to ſome rude tools, to give the plaineſt forms to timbers, afforded them.

The war which Louis XIV. had at that time to maintain, and the preſſing neceſſities of the ſtate, continually engroſſed the attention of the miniſtry, nor allowed them time to think of Louiſiana. What was then thought moſt adviſable, was to make a grant of it to ſome rich perſon; who, finding it his intereſt to improve that country, would, at the ſame time that he promoted his own intereſt, promote that of the ſtate. Louiſiana was thus ceded to M. Crozat. And it is to be preſumed, had M. d'Hiberville lived longer, the colony would have made

conſiderable progreſs: but that illuſtrious ſea-officer, whoſe authority was conſiderable, dying at the Havannah, in 1701 (after which this ſettlement was deſerted) a long time muſt intervene before a new Governor could arrive from France. The perſon pitched upon to fill that poſt, was M. de la Motte Cadillac, who arrived in that country in June 1713.

The colony had but a ſcanty meaſure of commodities, and money ſcarcer yet: it was rather in a ſtate of languor, than of vigorous activity, in one of the fineſt countries in the world; becauſe impoſſible for it to do the laborious works, and make the firſt advances, always requiſite in the beſt lands.

The Spaniards, for a long time, conſidered Louiſiana as a property juſtly theirs, becauſe it conſtitutes the greateſt part of Florida, which they firſt diſcovered. The pains the French were at then to ſettle there, rouſed their jealouſy, to form the deſign of cramping us, by ſettling at the Aſſinaïs, a nation not very diſtant from the Nactchitoches, whither ſome Frenchmen had penetrated. There the Spaniards met with no ſmall difficulty to form that ſettlement, and being at a loſs how to accompliſh it, one F. Ydalgo, a Franciſcan Friar, took it in his head to write to the French, to beg their aſſiſtance in ſettling a miſſion among the Aſſinaïs. He ſent three different copies of his letter hap-hazard three different ways to our ſettlements, hoping one of them at leaſt might fall into the hands of the French.

Nor was he diſappointed in his hope, one of them, from one poſt to another, and from hand to hand, falling into the hands of M. de la Motte. That General, inceſſantly taken up with the concerns of the colony, and the means of relieving it, was not apprized of the deſigns of the Spaniards in that letter; could only ſee therein a ſure and ſhort method to remedy the preſent evils, by favouring the Spaniards, and making a treaty of commerce with them, which might procure to the colony what it was in

want

want of, and what the Spaniards abounded with, namely, horſes, cattle, and money: He therefore communicated that letter to M. de St. Denis, to whom he propoſed to undertake a journey by land to Mexico.

M. de St. Denis, for the fourteen years he was in Louiſiana, had made ſeveral excurſions up and down the country; and having a general knowledge of all the languages of the different nations which inhabit it, gained the love and eſteem of theſe people, ſo far as to be acknowledged their Grand Chief. This gentleman, in other reſpects a man of courage, prudence, and reſolution, was then the fitteſt perſon M. de la Motte could have pitched upon, to put his deſign in execution.

How fatiguing ſoever the enterprize was, M. de St. Denis undertook it with pleaſure, and ſet out with twenty-five men. This ſmall company would have made ſome figure, had it continued entire; but ſome of them dropped M. de St. Denis by the way, and many of them remained among the Nactchitoches, to whoſe country he was come. He was therefore obliged to ſet out from that place, accompanied only by ten men, with whom he traverſed upwards of an hundred and fifty leagues in a country entirely depopulated, having on his route met with no nation, till he came to the Preſidio, or fortreſs of St. John Baptiſt, on the Rio (river) del Norte, in New Mexico.

The Governor of this fort was Don Diego Raimond, an officer advanced in years, who favourably received M. de St. Denis, on acquainting him, that the motive to his journey was F. Ydalgo's letter, and that he had orders to repair to Mexico. But as the Spaniards do not readily allow ſtrangers to travel through the countries of their dominion in America, for fear the view of theſe fine countries ſhould inſpire notions, the conſequences of which might be greatly prejudicial to them, D. Diego did not chuſe to permit M. de St. Denis to continue his route, without the previous conſent of the Viceroy. It was

therefore neceſſary to diſpatch a courier to Mexico, and to wait his return.

The courier, impatiently longed for, arrived at length, with the permiſſion granted by the Duke of Linarez, Viceroy of Mexico. Upon which M. de St. Denis ſet out directly, and arrived at Mexico, June 5, 1715. The Viceroy had naturally an affection to France; M. de St. Denis was therefore favourably received, ſaving ſome precautions, which the Duke thought proper to take, not to give any diſguſt to ſome officers of juſtice who were about him.

The affair was ſoon diſpatched; the Duke of Linarez having promiſed to make a treaty of commerce, as ſoon as the Spaniards ſhould be ſettled at the Aſſinaïs; which M. de St. Denis undertook to do, upon his return to Louiſiana.

CHAP. II.

The Return of M. de St. Denis: *His ſettling the* Spaniards *at the* Aſſinaïs. *His ſecond Journey to* Mexico, *and Return from thence.*

M. De St. Denis ſoon returned to the fort of St. John Baptiſt; after which he reſolved to form the caravan, which was to be ſettled at the Aſſinaïs; at whoſe head M. de St. Denis put himſelf, and happily conducted it to the place appointed. And then having, in quality of Grand Chief, aſſembled the nation of the Aſſinaïs, he exhorted them to receive and uſe the Spaniards well. The veneration which that people had for him, made them ſubmit to his will in all things; and thus the promiſe he had made to the Duke of Linarez was faithfully fulfilled.

The Aſſinaïs are fifty leagues diſtant from the Nactchitoches. The Spaniards, finding themſelves ſtill at too great a diſtance from us, availed themſelves of that firſt

ſettlement, in order to form a ſecond among the Adaïes, a nation which is ten leagues from our poſt of the Nact-chitoches: whereby they confine us on the weſt within the neighbourhood of the river St. Louis; and from that time it was not their fault, that they had not cramped us to the north, as I ſhall mention in its place.

To this anecdote of their hiſtory I ſhall, in a word or two, add that of their ſettlement at Penſacola, on the coaſt of Florida, three months after M. d'Hiberville had carried the firſt inhabitants to Louiſiana, that country having continued to be inhabited by Europeans, ever ſince the garriſon left there by Dominique de Gourges; which either periſhed, or deſerted, for want of being ſupported *.

To return to M. de la Motte and M. de St. Denis: the former, ever attentive to the project of having a treaty of commerce concluded with the Spaniards, and pleaſed with the ſucceſs of M. de St. Denis's journey to Mexico, propoſed his return thither again, not doubting but the Duke of Linarez would be as good as his word, as the French had already been. M. de St. Denis, every ready to obey, accepted the commiſſion of his General. But this ſecond journey was not to be undertaken as the firſt; it was proper to carry ſome goods, in order to execute that treaty, as ſoon as it ſhould be concluded, and to indemnify himſelf for the expences he was to be at. Though the ſtore-houſes of M. Crozat were full, it was no eaſy matter to get goods. The factors refuſed to give any on credit; nay, refuſed M. de la Motte's ſecurity; and there was no money to be had to pay them. The Governor was therefore obliged to form a company of the moſt reſponſible men of the colony: and to this company only the factors determined to advance the goods. This expedient was far from being agreeable to M. de St. Denis, who opened his mind to M. de la Motte on that head, and told him, that ſome or all of his partners would accompany the goods

* They returned to France. See p. 3.

goods they had engaged to be ſecurity for; and that, although it was abſolutely neceſſary the effects ſhould appear to be his property alone, they would not fail to diſcover they themſelves were the proprietors; which would be ſufficient to cauſe their confiſcation, the commerce between the two nations not being open. M. de la Motte ſaw the ſolidity of theſe reaſons; but the impoſſibility of acting otherwiſe conſtrained him to ſuperſede them: and, as M. de St. Denis had foreſeen, it accordingly happened.

He ſet out from Mobile, Auguſt 13, 1716, eſcorted, as he all along apprehended, by ſome of thoſe concerned; and being come to the Aſſinaïs, he there paſſed the winter. On the 19th of March, the year following, ſetting out on his journey, he ſoon arrived at the Preſidio of St. John Baptiſt. M. de St. Denis declared theſe goods to be his own property, in order to obviate their confiſcation, which was otherwiſe unavoidable; and wanted to ſhew ſome acts of bounty and generoſity, in order to gain the friendſhip of the Spaniards. But the untractableneſs, the avarice, and indiſcretion of the parties concerned, broke through all his meaſures; and to prevent the entire diſconcerting of them, he haſtened his departure for Mexico, where he arrived May 14, 1717. The Duke of Linarez was yet there, but ſick, and on his death-bed. M. de St. Denis had, however, time to ſee him, who knew him again: and that Nobleman took care to have him recommended to the Viceroy his ſucceſſor; namely, the Marquis of Balero, a man as much againſt the French as the Duke was for them.

M. de St. Denis did not long ſolicit the Marquis of Balero for concluding the treaty of commerce; he ſoon had other buſineſs to mind. F. Olivarez, who, on the repreſentation of F. Ydalgo, as a perſon of a jealous, turbulent, and dangerous diſpoſition, had been excluded from the miſſion to the Aſſinaïs, being then at the court of the Viceroy, ſaw with an evil eye the perſon who had ſettled F. Ydalgo in that miſſion, and reſolved to be avenged

avenged on him for the vexation cauſed by that diſappointment. He joined himſelf to an officer, named Don Martin de Alaron, a perſon peculiarly protected by the Marquis of Balero: and they ſucceeded ſo well with that nobleman, that in the time M. de St. Denis leaſt expected, he found himſelf arreſted, and clapt in a dungeon; from which he was not diſcharged till December 20 of this year, by an order of the Sovereign Council of Mexico, to which he found means to preſent ſeveral petitions. The Viceroy, conſtrained to enlarge him, allotted the town for his place of confinement.

The buſineſs of the treaty of commerce being now at an end, M. de St. Denis's attention was only engaged how to make the moſt of the goods, of which Don Diego Raymond had ſent as large a quantity as he could, to the town of Mexico; where they were ſeized by D. Martin de Alaron, as contraband; he being one of the emiſſaries of his protector, appointed to perſecute ſuch ſtrangers as did not dearly purchaſe the permiſſion to ſell their goods. M. de St. Denis could make only enough of his pillaged and damaged effects juſt to defray certain expences of ſuit, which, in a country that abounds with nothing elſe but gold and ſilver, are enormous.

Our priſoner having nothing further to engroſs his attention in Mexico, but the ſafety of his perſon, ſeriouſly bethought himſelf how to ſecure it; as he had ever juſt grounds to apprehend ſome bad treatment at the hands of his three avowed enemies. Having therefore planned the means of his flight, on September 25, 1718, as the night came on, he quitted Mexico, and placing himſelf in ambuſh at a certain diſtance from the town, waited till his good fortune ſhould afford the means of travelling otherwiſe than on foot. About nine at night, a horſeman, well-mounted, caſt up. To ruſh of a ſudden upon him, diſmount him, mount his horſe, turn the bridle, and ſet up a gallop, was the work of a moment only for St. Denis. He rode on at a good pace till day, then quitted the com-

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mon road, to repoſe him: a precaution he obſerved all along, till he came near to the Preſidio of St. John Baptiſt. From thence he continued his journey on foot; and at length, on April 2, 1719, arrived at the French colony, where he found conſiderable alterations.

From the departure of M. de St. Denis from Mexico, to his return again, almoſt three years had elapſed. In that long time, the grant of Louiſiana was transferred from M. Crozat to the Weſt India Company; M. de la Motte Cadillac was dead, and M. de Biainville, brother to M. d'Hiberville, ſucceeded as governor general. The capital place of the colony was no longer at Mobile, nor even at Old Biloxi, whither it had been removed: New Orleans, now begun to be built, was become the capital of the country, whither he repaired to give M. de Biainville an account of his journey; after which he retired to his ſettlement. The king afterwards conferred upon him the croſs of St. Louis, in acknowledgement and recompence of his ſervices.

The Weſt India Company, building great hopes of commerce on Louiſiana, made efforts to people that country, ſufficient to accompliſh their end. Thither, for the firſt time, they ſent, in 1718, a colony of eight hundred: men ſome of which ſettled at New Orleans, others formed the ſettlements of the Natchez. It was with this embarkation I paſſed over to Louiſiana.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Embarkation of eight hundred Men by the Weſt India Company *to* Louiſiana. *Arrival and Stay at* Cape François. *Arrival at* Iſle Dauphine. *Deſcription of that Iſland.*

THE embarkation was made at Rochelle on three different veſſels, on one of which I embarked. For the firſt days of our voyage we had the wind contrary, but no high ſea. On the eighth the wind turned more favourable. I obſerved nothing intereſting till we came to the Tropick of Cancer, where the ceremony of baptizing was performed on thoſe who had never been a voyage: after paſſing the Tropick, the Commodore ſteered too much to the ſouth, which our captain obſerved. In effect, after ſeveral days ſailing, we were obliged to bear off to the north: we afterwards diſcovered the iſle of St. Juan de Porto Rico, which belongs to the Spaniards. Loſing ſight of that, we diſcovered the iſland of St. Domingo; and a little after, as we bore on, we ſaw the Grange, which is a rock, overtopping the ſteep coaſt, which is almoſt perpendicular to the edge of the water. This rock, ſeen at a diſtance, ſeems to have the figure of a grange, or barn. A few hours after we arrived at Cape François, diſtant from that rock only twelve leagues.

We were two months in this paſſage to Cape François; both on account of the contrary winds, we had on ſetting out, and of the calms, which are frequent in thoſe ſeas: our veſſel, beſides, being clumſy and heavy, had ſome difficulty to keep up with the others; which, not to leave us behind, carried only their four greater ſails, while we had out between ſeventeen and eighteen.

It is in thoſe ſeas we meet with the Tradewinds; which though weak, a great deal of way might be made, did they blow conſtantly, becauſe their courſe is from eaſt to weſt without varying: ſtorms are never obſerved in

in theſe ſeas, but the calms often prove a great hinderance; and then it is neceſſary to wait ſome days, till a *grain*, or ſquall, brings back the wind: a *grain* is a ſmall ſpot ſeen in the air, which ſpreads very faſt, and forms a cloud, that gives a wind, which is briſk at firſt, but not laſting, though enough to make way with. Nothing beſides remarkable is here ſeen, but the chace of the *flying-fiſh* by the Bonitas.

The Bonita is a fiſh, which is ſometimes two feet long; extremely fond of the *flying-fiſh*; which is the reaſon it always keeps to the places where theſe fiſh are found: its fleſh is extremely delicate and of a good flavour.

The *flying-fiſh* is of the length of a herring, but rounder. From its ſides, inſtead of fins, iſſue out two wings, each about four inches in length, by two in breadth at the extremity; they fold together and open out like a fan, and are round at the end; conſiſting of a very fine membrane, pierced with a vaſt many little holes, which keep the water, when the fiſh is out of it: in order to avoid the purſuit of the Bonita, it darts into the air, ſpreads out its wings, goes ſtraight on, without being able to turn to the right or left; which is the reaſon, that as ſoon as the toilets, or little ſheets of water, which fill up the ſmall holes of its wings, are dried up, it falls down again; and the ſame Bonita, which purſued it in the water, ſtill following it with his eye in the air, catches it when fallen into the water; it ſometimes falls on board ſhips. The Bonita, in his turn, becomes the prey of the ſeamen, by means of little puppets, in the form of *flying-fiſh*, which it ſwallows, and by that means is taken.

We ſtayed fifteen days at Cape François, to take in wood and water, and to refreſh. It is ſituate on the north part of the iſland of St. Domingo, which part the French are in poſſeſſion of, as the Spaniards are of the other. The fruits and ſweet-meats of the country are

excellent, but the meat good for nothing, hard, dry, and tough. This country being ſcorched, graſs is very ſcarce, and the animals therein languiſh and droop. Six weeks before our arrival, fifteen hundred perſons died of an epidemic diſtemper, called the Siam diſtemper.

We ſailed from Cape François, with the ſame wind, and the fineſt weather imaginable. We then paſſed between the iſlands of Tortuga and St. Domingo, where we eſpied Port de Paix, which is over-againſt Tortuga: we afterwards found ourſelves between the extremities of St. Domingo and Cuba, which belongs to the Spaniards: we then ſteered along the ſouth coaſt of this laſt, leaving to the left Jamaica, and the great and little Kayemans, which are ſubject to the Engliſh. We at length quitted Cuba at Cape Anthony, ſteering for Louiſiana a north weſt courſe. We eſpied land in coming towards it, but ſo flat, though diſtant but a league from us, that we had great difficulty to diſtinguiſh it, though we had then but four fathom water. We put out the boat to examine the land, which we found to be Candlemas iſland (la Chandeleur.) We directly ſet ſail for the iſland of Maſſacre, ſince called Iſle Dauphine, ſituated three leagues to the ſouth of that continent, which forms the Gulf of Mexico to the north, at about 27° 35′ North latitude, and 288° of longitude. A little after we diſcovered the Iſle Dauphine, and caſt anchor before the harbour, in the road, becauſe the harbour itſelf was choaked up. To make this paſſage we took three months, and arrived only Auguſt 25th. We had a proſperous voyage all along, and the more ſo, as no one died, or was even dangerouſly ill the whole time, for which we cauſed *Te Deum* ſolemnly to be ſung.

We were then put on ſhore with all our effects. The company had undertaken to tranſport us with our ſervants and effects, at their expence, and to lodge, maintain and convey us to our ſeveral conceſſions, or grants.

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This gulf abounds with delicious fiſh; as the *ſarde* (pilchard) red fiſh, cod, ſturgeon, ringed thornback, and many other ſorts, the beſt in their kind. The *ſarde* is a large fiſh; its fleſh is delicate, and of a fine flavour, the ſcales grey, and of a moderate ſize. The red fiſh is ſo called, from its red ſcales, of the ſize of a crown piece. The cod, fiſhed for on this coaſt, is of the middling ſort, and very delicate. The thornback is the ſame as in France. Before we quit this iſland, it will not, perhaps, be improper to mention ſome things about it.

The Iſle Maſſacre was ſo called by the firſt Frenchman who landed there, becauſe on the ſhore of this iſland they found a ſmall riſing ground, or eminence, which appeared the more extraordinary in an iſland altogether flat, and ſeemingly formed only by the ſand, thrown in by ſome high guſts of wind. As the whole coaſt of the gulf is very flat, and along the continent lies a chain of ſuch iſlands, which ſeem to be mutually joined by their points, and to form a line parallel with the continent, this ſmall eminence appeared to them extraordinary: it was more narrowly examined; and in different parts thereof they found dead mens bones, juſt appearing above the little earth that covered them. Then their curioſity led them to rake off the earth in ſeveral places; but finding nothing underneath, but a heap of bones, they cried out with horror, *Ah! what a Maſſacre!* They afterwards underſtood by the natives, who are at no great diſtance off, that a nation adjoining to that iſland, being at war with another much more powerful, was conſtrained to quit the continent, which is only three leagues off, and to remove to this iſland, there to live in peace the reſt of their days; but that their enemies, juſtly confiding in their ſuperiority, purſued them to this their feeble retreat, and entirely deſtroyed them; and after raiſing this inhuman trophy of their victorious barbarity, retired again. I myſelf ſaw this fatal monument, which made me imagine this unhappy

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nation muſt have been even numerous toward its period, as only the bones of their warriors and aged men muſt have lain there, their cuſtom being to make ſlaves of their young people. Such is the origin of the firſt name of this iſland, which, on our arrival, was changed to that of Iſle Dauphine: an act of prudence, it ſhould ſeem, to diſcontinue an appellation, ſo odious, of a place that was the cradle of the colony; as Mobile was its birth-place.

This iſland is very flat, and all a white ſand, as are all the others, and the coaſt in like manner. Its length is about ſeven leagues from eaſt to weſt; its breadth a ſhort league from ſouth to north, eſpecially to the eaſt, where the ſettlement was made, on account of the harbour which was at the ſouth end of the iſland, and choaked up by a high ſea, a little before our arrival: this eaſt end runs to a point. It is tolerably well ſtored with pine; but ſo dry and parched, on account of its cryſtal ſand, as that no greens or pulſe can grow therein, and beaſts are pinched and hard put to it for ſuſtenance.

In the mean time, M. de Biainville, commandant general for the company in this colony, was gone to mark out the ſpot on which the capital was to be built, namely, one of the banks of the river Miſſiſippi, where at preſent ſtands the city of New Orleans, ſo called in honour of the duke of Orleans, then regent.

CHAP. IV.

The Author's Departure for his Grant. Deſcription of the Places he paſſed through, as far as New Orleans.

THE time of my departure, ſo much wiſhed for, came at length. I ſet out with my hired ſervants, all my effects, and a letter for M. Paillou, major general at New Orleans, who commanded there in the abſence of M. de Biainville. We coaſted along the continent,

tinent, and came to lie in the mouth of the river of the Paſca-Ogoulas; ſo called, becauſe near its mouth, and to the eaſt of a bay of the ſame name, dwells a nation, called Paſca-Ogoulas, which denotes the Nation of Bread. Here it may be remarked, that in the province of Louiſiana, the appellation of ſeveral people terminates in the word Ogoula, which ſignifies *nation*; and that moſt of the rivers derive their names from the nations which dwell on their banks. We then paſſed in view of Biloxi, where formerly was a petty nation of that name; then in view of the bay of St. Louis, leaving to the left ſucceſſively Iſle Dauphine, Iſle a Corne, (Horn-iſland,) Iſle aux Vaiſſeaux, (Ship-iſland,) and Iſle aux Chats, (Cat-iſland).

I have already deſcribed Iſle Dauphine, let us now proceed to the three following. Horn-iſland is very flat and tolerably wooded, about ſix leagues in length, narrowed to a point to the weſt ſide. I know not whether it was for this reaſon, or on account of the number of horned cattle upon it, that it received this name; but it is certain, that the firſt Canadians, who ſettled on Iſle Dauphine, had put moſt of their cattle, in great numbers, there; whereby they came to grow rich even when they ſlept. Theſe cattle not requiring any attendance, or other care, in this iſland, came to multiply in ſuch a manner, that the owners made great profits of them on our arrival in the colony.

Proceeding ſtill weſtward, we meet Ship-iſland; ſo called, becauſe there is a ſmall harbour, in which veſſels at different times have put in for ſhelter. But as the iſland is diſtant four leagues from the coaſt, and that this coaſt is ſo flat, that boats cannot approach nearer than half a league, this harbour comes to be entirely uſeleſs. This iſland may be about five leagues in length, and a large league in breadth at the weſt point. Near that point to the north is the harbour, facing the continent; towards the eaſt end it may be half a league in breadth:

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it is ſufficiently wooded, and inhabited only by rats, which ſwarm there.

At two leagues diſtance, going ſtill weſtward, we meet Cat-iſland; ſo called, becauſe at the time it was diſcovered, great numbers of cats were found upon it. This iſland is very ſmall, not above half a league in diameter. The foreſts are over-run with underwood: a circumſtance which, doubtleſs, determined M. de Biainville to put in ſome hogs to breed; which multiplied to ſuch numbers, that, in 1722, going to hunt them, no other creatures were to be ſeen; and it was judged, that in time they muſt have devoured each other. It was found they had deſtroyed the cats.

All theſe iſlands are very flat, and have the ſame bottom of white ſand; the woods, eſpecially of the three firſt, conſiſt of pine; they are almoſt all at the ſame diſtance from the continent, the coaſt of which is equally ſandy.

After paſſing the bay of St. Louis, of which I have ſpoken, we enter the two channels which lead to Lake Pontchartrain, called at preſent the Lake St. Louis: of theſe channels, one is named the Great, the other the Little; and they are about two leagues in length, and formed by a chain of iſlets, or little iſles, between the continent and Cockle-iſland. The great channel is to the ſouth.

We lay at the end of the channels in Cockle-iſland; ſo called, becauſe almoſt entirely formed of the ſhells named Coquilles des Palourdes, in the ſea-ports, without a mixture of any others. This iſle lies before the mouth of the Lake St. Louis to the eaſt, and leaves at its two extremities two outlets to the lake; the one, by which we entered, which is the channel juſt mentioned; the other, by the Lake Borgne. The lake, moreover, at the other end weſtward, communicates, by a channel, with the Lake Maurepas; and may be about ten leagues in length from eaſt to weſt, and ſeven in breadth. Several rivers, in their courſe ſouthward, fall into it.

To the ſouth of the lake is a great creek (Bayouc, a ſtream of dead water, with little or no obſervable current) called Bayouc St. Jean; it comes cloſe to New Orleans, and falls into this lake at Graſs Point (Pointe aux Herbes) which projects a great way into the lake, at two leagues diſtance from Cockle-iſland. We paſſed near that point, which is nothing but a quagmire. From thence we proceeded to the Bayouc Choupic, ſo denominated from a fiſh of that name, and three leagues from the Pointe aux Herbes. The many rivulets, which diſcharge themſelves into this lake, make its waters almoſt freſh, though it communicates with the ſea: and on this account it abounds not only with ſea fiſh but with freſh water fiſh, ſome of which, particularly carp, would appear to be of a monſtrous ſize in France.

We entered this Creek Choupic: at the entrance of which is a fort at preſent. We went up this creek for the ſpace of a league, and landed at a place where formerly ſtood the village of the natives, who are called Cola-Piſſas, an appellation corrupted by the French, the true name of that nation being Aquelou-Piſſas, that is, *the nation of men that hear and ſee.* From this place to New Orleans, and the river Miſſiſippi, on which that capital is built, the diſtance is only a league.

CHAP. V.

The Author put in Poſſeſſion of his Territory. His Reſolution to go and ſettle among the Natchez.

BEING arrived at the Creek Choupic the Sieur Lavigne, a Canadian, lodged me in a cabin of the Aquelou-Piſſas, whoſe village he had bought. He gave others to my workmen for their lodging; and we were all happy to find, upon our arrival, that we were under ſhelter, in a place that was uninhabited. A few days after my arrival I bought an Indian female ſlave of one of the inhabitants, in order to have a perſon who could dreſs

dreſs our victuals, as I perceived the inhabitants did all they could to entice away our labourers, and to gain them by fair promiſes. As for my ſlave and me, we did not underſtand one another's language; but I made myſelf to be underſtood by ſigns, which theſe natives comprehend very eaſily: ſhe was of the nation of the Chitimachas, with whom the French had been at war for ſome years.

I went to view a ſpot on St. John's Creek, about half a league diſtant from the place where the capital was to be founded, which was yet only marked out by a hut, covered with palmetto-leaves, and which the commandant had cauſed to be built for his own lodging; and after him for M. Paillou, whom he left commandant of that poſt. I had choſen that place preferably to any others, with a view to diſpoſe more eaſily of my goods and proviſions, and that I might not have them to tranſport to a great diſtance. I told M. Paillou of my choice, who came and put me in poſſeſſion, in the name of the Weſt-India company.

I built a hut upon my ſettlement, about forty yards from the creek of St. John, till I could build my houſe, and lodging for my people. As my hut was compoſed of very combuſtible materials, I cauſed a fire to be made at a diſtance, about half way from the creek, to avoid accidents: which occaſioned an adventure, that put me in mind of the prejudices they have in Europe, from the relations that are commonly current. The account I am going to give of it, may have upon thoſe who think as I did then, the ſame effect that it had upon me.

It was almoſt night, when my ſlave perceived, within two yards of the fire, a young alligator, five feet long, which beheld the fire without moving. I was in the garden hard by, when ſhe made me repeated ſigns to come to her; I ran with ſpeed, and upon my arrival ſhe ſhewed me the crocodile, without ſpeaking to me; the little time that I examined it, I could ſee, its eyes were

ſo fixed on the fire, that all our motions could not take them off. I ran to my cabin to look for my gun, as I am a pretty good markſman: but what was my ſurprize, when I came out, and ſaw the girl with a great ſtick in her hand attacking the monſter! Seeing me arrive, ſhe began to ſmile, and ſaid many things, which I did not comprehend. But ſhe made me underſtand, by ſigns, that there was no occaſion for a gun to kill ſuch a beaſt; for the ſtick ſhe ſhewed me was ſufficient for the purpoſe.

The next day the former maſter of my ſlave came to aſk me for ſome ſalad-plants; for I was the only one who had any garden-ſtuff, having taken care to preſerve the ſeeds I had brought over with me. As he underſtood the language of the natives, I begged him to aſk the girl, why ſhe had killed the alligator ſo raſhly. He began to laugh, and told me, that all new comers were afraid of thoſe creatures, although they have no reaſon to be ſo: and that I ought not to be ſurprized at what the girl had done, becauſe her nation inhabited the borders of a lake, which was full of thoſe creatures; that the children, when they ſaw the young ones come on land, purſued them, and killed them, by the aſſiſtance of the people of the cabin, who made good cheer of them.

I was pleaſed with my habitation, and I had good reaſons, which I have already related, to make me prefer it to others; notwithſtanding I had room to believe, that the ſituation was none of the healthieſt, the country about it being very damp. But this cauſe of an unwholeſome air does not exiſt at preſent, ſince they have cleared the ground, and made a bank before the town. The quality of that land is very good, for what I had ſown came up very well. Having found in the ſpring ſome peach-ſtones which began to ſprout, I planted them; and the following autumn they had made ſhoots, four feet high, with branches in proportion.

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding theſe advantages, I took a reſolution to quit this ſettlement, in order to make another one, about a hundred leagues higher up; and I ſhall give the reaſons, which, in my opinion, will appear ſufficient to have made me take that ſtep.

My ſurgeon came to take his leave of me, letting me know, he could be of no ſervice to me, near ſuch a town as was forming; where there was a much abler ſurgeon than himſelf; and that they had talked to him ſo favourably of the poſt of the Natchez, that he was very deſirous to go there, and the more ſo, as that place, being unprovided with a ſurgeon, might be more to his advantage. To ſatisfy me of the truth of what he told me, he went immediately and brought one of the old inhabitants, of whom I had bought my ſlave, who confirmed the account he had given me of the fineneſs of the country of the Natchez. The account of the old man, joined to many other advantages, to be found there, had made him think of abandoning the place where we were, to ſettle there; and he reckoned to be abundantly repaid for it in a little time.

My ſlave heard the diſcourſe that I have related, and as ſhe began to underſtand French, and I the language of the country, ſhe addreſſed herſelf to me thus: "Thou "art going, then, to that country; the ſky is much "finer there; game is in much greater plenty; and as "I have relations, who retired there in the war which "we had with the French, they will bring us every "thing we want: they tell me that country is very "fine, that they live well in it, and to a good old age."

Two days afterwards I told M. Hubert what I had heard of the country of the Natchez. He made anſwer, that he was ſo perſuaded of the goodneſs of that part of the country, that he was making ready to go there himſelf, to take up his grant, and to eſtabliſh a large ſettlement for the company: and, continued he, "I "ſhall be very glad, if you will do the ſame: we ſhall

" be company to one another, and you will unqueſ-
" tionably do your buſineſs better there than here."

This determined me to follow his advice: I quitted my ſettlement, and took lodgings in the town, till I ſhould find an opportunity to depart, and receive ſome negroes whom I expected in a ſhort time. * My ſtay at New Orleans appeared long, before I heard of the arrival of the negroes. Some days after the news of their arrival, M. Hubert brought me two good ones, which had fallen to me by lot. One was a young negro about twenty, with his wife of the ſame age; which coſt me both together 1320 livres, or 55l. ſterling.

Two days after that I ſet off with them alone in a pettyaugre (a large canoe,) becauſe I was told we ſhould make much better ſpeed in ſuch a veſſel, than in the boats that went with us; and that I had only to take powder and ball with me, to provide my whole company with game ſufficient to maintain us; for which purpoſe it was neceſſary to make uſe of a paddle, inſtead of oars, which make too much noiſe for the game. I had a barrel of powder, with fifteen pounds of ſhot, which I thought would be ſufficient for the voyage: but I found by experience, that this was not ſufficient for the vaſt plenty of game that is to be met with upon that river, without ever going out of your way. I had not gone above twenty-eight leagues, to the grant of M. Paris du Vernai, when I was obliged to borrow of him fifteen pounds of ſhot more. Upon this I took care of my ammunition, and ſhot nothing but what was fit for our proviſion; ſuch as wild ducks, ſummer ducks, teal, and ſaw-bills. Among the reſt I killed a carancro, wild geeſe, cranes, and flamingo's; I likewiſe often killed young alligators; the tail of which was a feaſt for the ſlaves, as well as for the French and Canadian rowers.

Among others things I cannot omit to give an account of a monſtrous large alligator I killed with a muſquet ball,

* Chap. VIII.

ball, as it lay upon the bank, about ten feet above the edge of the water. We meaſured it, and found it to be nineteen feet long; its head three feet and a half long, above two feet nine inches broad, and the other parts in proportion: at the belly it was two feet two inches thick; and it infected the whole air with the odor of muſk. M. Mehane told me, he had killed one twenty-two feet long.

After ſeveral days navigation, we arrived at Tonicas on Chriſtmas eve; where we heard maſs from M. d' Avion, of the foreign miſſions, with whom we paſſed the reſt of the holy-days, on account of the good reception and kind invitation he gave us. I aſked him, if his great zeal for the ſalvation of the natives was attended with any ſucceſs; he anſwered me, that notwithſtanding the profound reſpect the people ſhewed him, it was with the greateſt difficulty he could get leave to baptize a few children at the point of death; that thoſe of an advanced age excuſed themſelves from embracing our holy religion, becauſe they are too old, ſay they, to accuſtom themſelves to rules, that are ſo difficult to be obſerved; that the chief, who had killed the phyſician, that attended his only ſon in a diſtemper of which he died, had taken a reſolution to faſt every Friday while he lived, in remorſe for his inhumanity with which he had been ſo ſharply reproached by him. This grand chief attended both morning and evening prayers; the women and children likewiſe aſſiſted regularly at them; but the men, who did not come very often, took more pleaſure in ringing the bell. In other reſpects, they did not ſuffer this zealous paſtor to want for any thing, but furniſhed him with whatever he deſired.

We were yet twenty-five leagues to the end of our journey to the Natchez, and we left the Tonicas, where we ſaw nothing intereſting, if it were not ſeveral ſteep hills, which ſtand together; among which there is one that they name the White Hill, becauſe they find in it ſeveral veins of an earth, that is white, greaſy, and very

fine, with which I have ſeen very good potters ware made. On the ſame hill there are veins of ochre, of which the Natchez had juſt taken ſome to ſtain their earthen ware, which looked well enough; when it was beſmeared with ochre, it became red on burning.

At laſt we arrived at the Natchez, after a voyage of twenty-four leagues; and we put on ſhore at a landing-place, which is at the foot of a hill two hundred feet high, upon the top of which Fort Roſalie * is built, ſurrounded only with palliſadoes. About the middle of the hill ſtands the magazine, nigh to ſome houſes of the inhabitants, who are ſettled there, becauſe the aſcent is not ſo ſteep in that place; and it is for the ſame reaſon that the magazine is built there. When you are upon the top of this hill, you diſcover the whole country, which is an extenſive beautiful plain, with ſeveral little hills interſperſed here and there, upon which the inhabitants have built and made their ſettlements. The proſpect of it is charming.

On our arrival at the Natchez I was very well received by M. Loire de Flaucourt, ſtore-keeper of this poſt, who regaled us with the game that abounds in this place; and after two days I hired a houſe near the fort, for M. Hubert and his family, on their arrival, till he could build upon his own plantation. He likewiſe deſired me to chooſe two convenient parcels of land, whereon to ſettle two conſiderable plantations, one for the company,

* Fort Roſalie, in the country of the Natchez, was at firſt pitched upon for the metropolis of this colony. But though it be neceſſary to begin by a ſettlement near the ſea; yet if ever Louiſiana comes to be in a flouriſhing condition, as it may very well be, it appears to me, that the capital of it cannot be better ſituated than in this place. It is not ſubject to inundations of the river; the air is pure; the country very extenſive; the land fit for every thing, and well watered; it is not at too great a diſtance from the ſea, and nothing hinders veſſels to go up to it. In fine, it is within reach of every place intended to be ſettled. Charlevoix, Hiſt. de la N. France, III. 415.

This is on the eaſt ſide of the Miſſiſippi, and appears to be the firſt poſt on that river which we ought to ſecure.

pany, and the other for himſelf. I went to them in two or three days after my arrival, with an old inhabitant for my guide, and to ſhew me the proper places, and at the ſame time to chooſe a ſpot of ground for myſelf; this laſt I pitched upon the firſt day, becauſe it is more eaſy to chooſe for one's ſelf than for others.

I found upon the main road that leads from the chief village of the Natchez to the fort, about an hundred paces from this laſt, a cabin of the natives upon the road ſide, ſurrounded with a ſpot of cleared ground, the whole of which I bought by means of an interpreter. I made this purchaſe with the more pleaſure, as I had upon the ſpot, wherewithal to lodge me and my people, with all my effects: the cleared ground was about ſix acres, which would form a garden and a plantation for tobacco, which was then the only commodity cultivated by the inhabitants. I had water convenient for my houſe, and all my land was very good. On one ſide ſtood a riſing ground with a gentle declivity, covered with a thick field of canes, which always grow upon the rich lands; behind that was a great meadow, and on the other ſide was a foreſt of white walnuts (Hiccories) of nigh fifty acres, covered with graſs knee deep. All this piece of ground was in general good, and contained about four hundred acres of a meaſure greater than that of Paris: the ſoil is black and light.

The other two pieces of land, which M. Hubert had ordered me to look for, I took up on the border of the little river of the Natchez, each of them half a league from the great village of that nation, and a league from the fort; and my plantation ſtood between theſe two and the fort, bounding the two others. After this I took up my lodging upon my own plantation, in the hut I had bought of the Indian, and put my people in another, which they built for themſelves at the ſide of mine; ſo that I was lodged pretty much like our wood-cutters in France, when they are at work in the woods.

As

As ſoon as I was put in poſſeſſion of my habitation, I went with an interpreter to ſee the other fields, which the Indians had cleared upon my land, and bought them all, except one, which an Indian would never ſell to me: it was ſituated very convenient for me, I had a mind for it, and would have given him a good price; but I could never make him agree to my propoſals. He gave me to underſtand, that without ſelling it, he would give it up to me, as ſoon as I ſhould clear my ground to his; and that while he ſtayed on his own ground near me, I ſhould always find him ready to ſerve me, and that he would go a-hunting and fiſhing for me. This anſwer ſatisfied me, becauſe I muſt have had twenty negroes, before I could have been able to have reached him; they aſſured me likewiſe, that he was an honeſt man; and far from having any occaſion to complain of him as a neighbour, his ſtay there was extremely ſerviceable to me.

I had not been ſettled at the Natchez ſix months, when I found a pain in my thigh, which, however, did not hinder me to go about my buſineſs. I conſulted our ſurgeon about it, who cauſed me to be bleeded; on which the humour fell upon the other thigh, and fixed there with ſuch violence, that I could not walk without extreme pain. I conſulted the phyſicians and ſurgeons of New Orleans, who adviſed me to uſe aromatic baths; and if they proved of no ſervice, I muſt go to France, to drink the waters, and to bathe in them. This anſwer ſatisfied me ſo much the leſs, as I was neither certain of my cure by that means, nor would my preſent ſituation allow me to go to France. This cruel diſtemper, I believe, proceeded from the rains, with which I was wet, during our whole voyage; and might be ſome effects of the fatigues I had undergone in war, during ſeveral campaigns I had made in Germany.

As I could not go out of my hut, ſeveral neighbours were ſo good as to come and ſee me, and every day we were no leſs than twelve at table from the time of our arrival,

rival, which was on the fifth of January, 1720. Among the reſt F. de Ville, who waited there, in his journey to the Illinois, till the ice, which began to come down from the north, was gone. His converſation afforded me great ſatisfaction in my confinement, and allayed the vexation I was under from my two negroes being run away. In the mean time my diſtemper did not abate, which made me reſolve to apply to one of the Indian conjurers, who are both ſurgeons, divines, and ſorcerers; and who told me he would cure me by ſucking the place where I felt my pain. He made ſeveral ſcarifications upon the part with a ſharp flint, each of them about as large as the prick of a lancet, and in ſuch a form, that he could ſuck them all at once, which gave me extreme pain for the ſpace of half an hour. The next day I found myſelf a little better, and walked about into my field, where they adviſed me to put myſelf in the hands of ſome of the Natchez, who, they ſaid, did ſurprizing cures, of which they told me many inſtances, confirmed by creditable people. In ſuch a ſituation a man will do any thing for a cure, eſpecially as the remedy, which they told me of, was very ſimple: it was only a poultice, which they put upon the part affected, and in eight days time I was able to walk to the fort, finding myſelf perfectly cured, as I have felt no return of my pain ſince that time. This was, without doubt, a great ſatisfaction to a young man, who found himſelf otherwiſe in good health, but had been confined to the houſe for four months and a half, without being able to go out a moment; and gave me as much joy as I could well have, after the loſs of a good negroe, who died of a defluxion on the breaſt, which he catched by running away into the woods, where his youth and want of experience made him believe he might live without the toils of ſlavery; but being found by the Tonicas, conſtant friends of the French, who live about twenty leagues from the Natchez, they carried him to their village, where he and his wife were given to a Frenchman, for whom they worked,

worked, and by that that means got their livelihood; till M. de Montplaiſir ſent them home to me.

This M. de Montplaiſir, one of the moſt agreeable gentlemen in the colony, was ſent by the company from Clerac in Gaſcony, to manage their plantation at the Natchez, to make tobacco upon it, and to ſhew the people the way of cultivating and curing it; the company having learned, that this place produced excellent tobacco, and that the people of Clerac were perfectly well acquainted with the culture and way of managing it.

CHAP. VI.

The Voyage of the Author to Biloxi. *Deſcription of that Place. Settlement of Grants. The Author diſcovers two Copper-mines. His Return to the* Natchez.

THE ſecond year after my ſettling among the Natchez, I went to New Orleans, as I was deſirous to ſell my goods and commodities myſelf, inſtead of ſelling them to the travelling pedlars, who often require too great a profit for their pains. Another reaſon that made me undertake this voyage, was to ſend my letters to France myſelf, which I was certainly informed, were generally intercepted.

Before my departure, I went to the commandant of the fort, and aſked him whether he had any letters for the government. I was not on very good terms of friendſhip with this commandant of the Natchez, who endeavoured to pay his court to the governor, at the expence of others. I knew he had letters for M. de Biainville, although he told me he had none, which made me get a certificate from the commiſſary general of this refuſal to my demand; and at the ſame time the commiſſary begged me to carry down a ſervant of the company, and gave me an order to pay for his maintenance. As I made no great haſte, but ſtopt to ſee my friends, in my going down

down the river, the commandant had time to ſend his letters, and to write to the governor, that I refuſed to take them. As ſoon as I arrived at Biloxi, this occaſioned M. de Biainville to tell me, with ſome coldneſs, that I refuſed to charge myſelf with his letters. Upon this I ſhewed him the certificate of the commiſſary general; to which he could give no other anſwer, than by telling me, that at leaſt I could not deny, that I had brought away by ſtealth a ſervant of the company. Upon this I ſhewed him the other certificate of the commiſſary general, by which he deſired the directors to reimburſe me the charges of bringing down this ſervant, who was of no uſe to him above; which put the governor in a very bad humour.

Upon my arrival at New Orleans I was informed, that there were ſeveral grantees arrived at New Biloxi. I thought fit then to go thither, both to ſell my goods, and to get ſure conveyance for my letters to France. Here I was invited to ſup with M. d'Artaguette, king's lieutenant, who uſually invited all the grantees, as well as myſelf. I there found ſeveral of the grantees, who were all my friends; and among us we made out a ſure conveyance for our letters to France, of which we afterwards made uſe.

Biloxi is ſituate oppoſite to Ship-Iſland, and four leagues from it. But I never could gueſs the reaſon, why the principal ſettlement was made at this place, nor why the capital ſhould be built at it; as nothing could be more repugnant to good ſenſe; veſſels not being able to come within four leagues of it; but what was worſe, nothing could be brought from them, but by changing the boats three different times, from a ſmaller ſize to another ſtill ſmaller; after which they had to go upwards of an hundred paces with ſmall carts through the water to unload the leaſt boats. But what ought ſtill to have been a greater diſcouragement againſt making a ſettlement at Biloxi, was, that the land is the moſt barren of any to be found thereabouts; being nothing but a fine

ſeen,

ſand, as white and ſhining as ſnow, on which no kind of greens can be raiſed; beſides, the being extremely incommoded with rats, which ſwarm there in the ſand, and at that time ate even the very ſtocks of the guns, the famine being there ſo very great, that more than five hundred people died of hunger; bread being very dear, and fleſh-meat ſtill more rare. There was nothing in plenty but fiſh, with which this place abounds.

This ſcarcity proceeded from the arrival of ſeveral grantees all at once; ſo as to have neither proviſions, nor boats to tranſport them to the places of their deſtination, as the company had obliged themſelves to do. The great plenty of oyſters, found upon the coaſt, ſaved the lives of ſome of them, although obliged to wade almoſt up to their thighs for them, a gun-ſhot from the ſhore. If this food nouriſhed ſeveral of them, it threw numbers into ſickneſs; which was ſtill more heightened by they long time the were obliged to be in the water.

The grants were thoſe of M. Law, who was to have fifteen hundred men, conſiſting of Germans, Provençals, &c. to form the ſettlement. His land being marked out at the Arkanſas, conſiſted of four leagues ſquare, and was erected into a duchy, with accoutrements for a company of dragoons, and merchandize for more than a million of livres. M. Levans, who was truſtee of it, had his chaiſe to viſit the different poſts of the grant. But M. Law ſoon after becoming bankrupt, the company ſeized on all the effects and merchandiſe; and but a few of thoſe who engaged in the ſervice of that grant, remained at the Arkanſas; they were afterwards all diſperſed and ſet at liberty. The Germans almoſt to a man ſettled eight leagues above, and to the weſt of the capital. This grant ruined near a thouſand perſons at L'Orient before their embarkation, and above two hundred at Biloxi; not to mention thoſe who came out at the ſame time with me in 1718. All this diſtreſs, of which

which I was a witneſs at Biloxi, determined me to make an excurſion a few leagues on the coaſt, in order to paſs ſome days with a friend, who received me with pleaſure. We mounted horſe to viſit the interior part of the country a few leagues from the ſea. I found the fields pleaſant enough, but leſs fertile than along the Miſſiſippi; as they have ſome reſemblance of the neighbouring coaſt, which has ſcarce any other plants but pines, that run a great way, and ſome red and white cedars.

When we came to the plain, I carefully ſearched every ſpot that I thought worth my attention. In conſequence of the ſearch I found two mines of copper, whoſe metal plainly appeared above ground. They ſtood about half a league aſunder. We may juſtly conclude that they are very rich, as they thus diſcloſe themſelves on the ſurface of the earth.

When I had made a ſufficient excurſion, and judged I could find nothing further to ſatisfy my curioſity, I returned to Biloxi, where I found two boats of the company, juſt preparing to depart for New Orleans, and a large pettyaugre, which belonged to F. Charlevoix the jeſuit, whoſe name is well kown in the republic of letters: with him I returned to New Orleans.

Some time after my return from New Orleans to the Natchez, towards the month of March 1722, a phænomenon happened, which frightened the whole province. Every morning, for eight days running, a hollow noiſe, ſomewhat loud, was heard to reach from the ſea to the Illinois; which aroſe from the weſt. In the afternoon it was heard to deſcend from the eaſt, and that with an incredible quickneſs; and though the noiſe ſeemed to bear on the water, yet without agitating it, or diſcovering any more wind on the river than before. This frightful noiſe was only the prelude of a moſt violent tempeſt. The hurricane, the moſt furious ever felt in

the province, laſted three days. As it aroſe from the ſouth-weſt and north-eaſt, it reached all the ſetttlements which were along the Miſſiſippi; and was felt for ſome leagues more or leſs ſtrong, in proportion to the greater or leſs diſtance: but in the places, where the force or height of the hurricane paſſed, it overturned every thing in its way, which was an extent of a large quarter of a league broad; ſo that one would take it for an avenue made on purpoſe, the place where it paſſed being entirely laid flat, whilſt every thing ſtood upright on each ſide. The largeſt trees were torn up by the roots, and their branches broken to pieces and laid flat to the earth, as were alſo the reeds of the woods. In the meadows, the graſs itſelf, which was then but ſix inches high, and which is very fine, could not eſcape, but was trampled, faded, and laid quite flat to the earth.

The height of the hurricane paſſed at a league from my habitation; and yet my houſe, which was built on piles, would have been overturned, had I not ſpeedily propped it with a timber, with the great end in the earth, and nailed to the houſe with an iron hook ſeven or eight inches long. Several houſes of our poſt were overturned. But is was happy for us in this colony, that the height of the hurricane paſſed not directly over any poſt, but obliquely traverſed the Miſſiſippi, over a country intirely uninhabited. As this hurricane came from the ſouth, it ſo ſwelled the ſea, that the Miſſiſippi flowed back againſt its current, ſo as to riſe upwards of fifteen feet high.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

First War with the Natchez. *Cause of the War.*

IN the same year, towards the end of summer, we had the first war with the Natchez. The French had settled at the Natchez, without any opposition from these people; so far from opposing them, they did them a great deal of service, and gave them very material assistance in procuring provisions; for those, who were sent by the West India Company with the first fleet, had been detained at New Orleans. Had it not been for the natives, the people must have perished by famine and distress: for, how excellent soever a new country may be, it must be cleared, grubbed up, and sown, and then at least we are to wait the first harvest, or crop. But during all that time people must live, and the company was well apprized of this, as they had sent, with the eight hundred men they had transported to Louisiana, provisions for three years. The grantees and planters, obliged *to treat*, or truck for provisions with the Natchez, in consequence of that saw their funds wasted, and themselves incapable of forming so considerable a settlement, without this trucking, as necessary, as it was frequent.

However, some benefit resulted from this; namely, that the Natchez, enticed by the facility of trucking for goods, before unknown among them, as fusils, gunpowder, lead, brandy, linen, cloths, and other like things, by means of an exchange of what they abounded with, came to be more and more attached to the French; and would have continued very useful friends, had not the little satisfaction which the commandant of Fort Rosalie had given them, for the misbehaviour of one of his soldiers, alienated their minds. This fort covered the settlement of the Natchez, and protected that of St. Catharine, which was on the banks of the rivulet of the Natchez; but both the defence and protec-

tion it afforded were very inconſiderable; for this fort was only palliſadoed, open at ſix breaches, without a ditch, and with a very weak garriſon. On the other hand, the houſes of the inhabitants, though conſiderably numerous, were of themſelves of no ſtrength; and then the inhabitants, diſperſed in the country, each amidſt his field, far from affording mutual aſſiſtance, as they would had they been in a body, ſtood each of them, upon any accident, in need of the aſſiſtance of others.

A young ſoldier of Fort Roſalie had given ſome credit to an old warrior of a village of the Natchez; which was that of the White Apple, each village having its peculiar name: the warrior, in return, was to give him ſome corn. Towards the beginning of the winter 1723, this ſoldier lodging near the fort, the old warrior came to ſee him; the ſoldier inſiſted on his corn; the native anſwered calmly, that the corn was not yet dry enough to ſhake out the grain; that beſides, his wife had been ill, and that he would pay him as ſoon as poſſible. The young man, little ſatisfied with this anſwer, threatned to cudgel the old man: upon which, this laſt, who was in the ſoldier's hut, affronted at this threat, told him, he ſhould turn out, and try who was the beſt man. On this challenge, the ſoldier, calling out murder, brings the guard to his aſſiſtance. The guard being come, the young fellow preſſed them to fire upon the warrior, who was returning to his village at his uſual pace; a ſoldier was imprudent enough to fire: the old man dropt down. The commandant was ſoon apprized of what happened, and came to the ſpot; where the witneſſes, both French and Natchez, informed him of the fact. Both juſtice and prudence demanded to take an exemplary puniſhment of the ſoldier; but he got off with a reprimand. After this the natives made a litter, and carried off their warrior, who died the following night of his wounds, though the fuſil was only charged with great ſhot.

Revenge

Revenge is the predominant paſſion of the people in America: ſo that we ought not to be ſurprized, if the death of this old warrior raiſed his whole village againſt the French. The reſt of the nation took no part at firſt in the quarrel.

The firſt effect of the reſentment of the Natchez fell upon a Frenchman named M. Guenot, whom they ſurprized returning from the fort to St. Catharine, and upon another inhabitant, whom they killed in his bed. Soon after they attacked, all in a body, the ſettlement of St. Catharine, and the other below Fort Roſalie. It was at this laſt I had fixed my abode: I therefore ſaw myſelf expoſed, like many others, to pay with my goods, and perhaps my life, for the raſhneſs of a ſoldier, and the too great indulgence of his captain. But as I was already acquainted with the character of the people we had to deal with, I deſpaired not to ſave both. I therefore barricadoed myſelf in my houſe, and having put myſelf in a poſture of defence, when they came in the night, according to their cuſtom, to ſurprize me, they durſt not attack me.

This firſt attempt, which I juſtly imagined was to be followed by another, if not by many ſuch, made me reſolve, as ſoon as day came, to retire under the fort, as all the inhabitants alſo did, and thither to carry all the proviſions I had at my lodge. I could execute only half of my ſcheme. My ſlaves having begun to remove the beſt things, I was ſcarce arrived under the fort, but the commandant begged I might put myſelf at the head of a detachment of the inhabitants, to go to ſuccour St. Catharine. He had already ſent thither all his garriſon, reſerving only five men to guard the fort; but this ſuccour was not ſufficient to relieve the ſettlement, which the natives in great numbers vigorouſly ſtraitned.

I departed without delay: we heard the firing at a diſtance, but the noiſe ceaſed as ſoon as I was come, and

the natives appeared to have retired: they had, doubtleſs, diſcovered me on my march, and the ſight of a reinforcement which I had brought with me, deceived them. The officer who commanded the detachment of the garriſon, and whom I relieved, returned to the fort with his men; and the command being thus devolved on me, I cauſed all the Negroes to be aſſembled, and ordered them to cut down all the buſhes; which covering the country, favoured the approach of the enemy, quite to the doors of the houſes of that Grant. This operation was performed without moleſtation, if you except a few ſhot, fired by the natives from the woods, where they lay concealed on the other ſide of the rivulet; for the plain round St. Catharine being entirely cleared of every thing that could ſcreen them, they durſt not ſhew themſelves any more.

However, the commandant of Fort Roſalie ſent to treat with the *Stung Serpent*; in order to prevail with him to appeaſe that part of his nation, and procure a peace. As that great warrior was our friend, he effectually laboured therein, and hoſtilities ceaſed. After I had paſſed twenty-four hours in St. Catharine, I was relieved by a new detachment from the inhabitants, whom, in my turn, I relieved next day. It was on this ſecond guard, which I mounted, that the village we had been at war with ſent me, by their deputies, the *calumet* or *pipe of peace*. I at firſt had ſome thoughts of refuſing it, knowing that this honour was due to the commandant of the fort; and it appeared to me a thing ſo much the more delicate to deprive him of it, as we were not upon very good terms with each other. However, the evident riſk of giving occaſion to protract the war, by refuſing it, determined me to accept of it; after having, however, taken the advice of thoſe about me; who all judged it proper to treat theſe people gently, to whom the commandant was become odious.

I aſked the deputies, what they would have? They anſwered, faultering, *Peace*. "Good, ſaid I; but why

"bring

" bring you the Calumet of Peace to me? It is to the " Chief of the Fort you are to carry it, if you wiſh to " have a Peace." Our orders, ſaid they, are to carry it " firſt to you, if you chooſe to receive it, by only ſmoking " therein: after which we will carry it to the Chief of " the Fort; but if you refuſe receiving it, our orders are " to return."

Upon this I told them, that I agreed to ſmoke in their pipe, on condition they would carry it to the Chief of the Fort. They then made me an harangue; to which I anſwered, that it were beſt to reſume our former manner of living together, and that the French and the *Red-men* ſhould entirely forget what had paſſed. To conclude, that they had nothing further to do, but to go and carry the Pipe to the Chief of the Fort, and then go home and ſleep in peace.

This was the iſſue of the firſt war we had with the Natchez, which laſted only three or four days.

The commerce, or truck, was ſet again on the ſame footing it had been before; and thoſe who had ſuffered any damage, now thought only how they might beſt repair it. Some time after, the Major General arrived from New Orleans, being ſent by the Governor of Louiſiana to ratify the peace; which he did, and mutual ſincerity was reſtored, and became as perfect as if there had never been any rupture between us.

It had been much to be wiſhed, that matters had remained on ſo good a footing. As we were placed in one of the beſt and fineſt countries of the world; were in ſtrict connection with the natives, from whom we derived much knowledge of the nature of the productions of the country, and of the animals of all ſorts, with which it abounds; and likewiſe reaped great advantage in our traffick for furs and proviſions; and were aided by them in many laborious works, we wanted nothing but a profound

peace, in order to form ſolid ſettlements, capable of making us lay aſide all thoughts of Europe: but Providence had otherwiſe ordered.

The winter which ſucceeded this war was ſo ſevere, that a colder was never remembered. The rain fell in icicles in ſuch quantities as to aſtoniſh the oldeſt Natchez, to whom this great cold appeared new and uncommon.

Towards the autumn of this year I ſaw a phænomenon which ſtruck the ſuperſtitious with great terror: it was in effect ſo extraordinary, that I never remember to have heard of any thing that either reſembled, or even came up to it. I had juſt ſupped without doors, in order to enjoy the cool of the evening; my face was turned to the weſt, and I ſat before my table to examine ſome planets which had already appeared. I perceived a glimmering light, which made me raiſe my eyes; and immediately I ſaw, at the elevation of about 45 degrees above the horizon, a light proceeding from the ſouth, of the breadth of three inches, which went off to the north, always ſpreading itſelf as it moved, and made itſelf heard by a whizzing light like that of the largeſt ſky-rocket. I judged by the eye that this light could not be above our atmoſphere, and the whizzing noiſe which I heard confirmed me in that notion. When it came in like manner to be about 45 degrees to the north above the horizon, it ſtopped ſhort, and ceaſed enlarging itſelf: in that place it appeared to be twenty inches broad; ſo that in its courſe, which had been very rapid, it formed the figure of a trumpet-marine, and left in its paſſage very lively ſparks, ſhining brighter than thoſe which fly from under a ſmith's hammer; but they were extinguiſhed almoſt as faſt as they were emitted.

At the north elevation I juſt mentioned, there iſſued out with a great noiſe from the middle of the large end, a ball quite round, and all on fire: this ball was about ſix inches in diameter; it fell below the horizon to the north,

north, and emitted, about twenty minutes after, a hollow, but very loud noiſe for the ſpace of a minute, which appeared to come from a great diſtance. The light began to be weakened to the ſouth, after emitting the ball, and at length diſappeared, before the noiſe of the ball was heard.

CHAP. VIII.

The Governor ſurprized the Natchez *with ſeven hundred Men. Aſtoniſhing Cures performed by the Natives. The Author ſends upwards of three hundred Simples to the Company.*

M. De Biainville, at the beginning of the winter which followed this phænomenon, arrived very privately at our quarter of the Natchez, his march having been communicated to none but the Commandant of this Poſt, who had orders to ſeize all the Natchez that ſhould come to the Fort that day, to prevent the news of his arrival being carried to their countrymen. He brought with him, in regular troops, inhabitants and natives, who were our allies, to the number of ſeven hundred men.

Orders were given that all our ſettlers at the Natchez ſhould repair before his door at midnight at the lateſt: I went thither and mixed with the croud, without making myſelf known.

We arrived two hours before day at the ſettlement of St. Catharine. The Commandant having at length found me out, ordered me, in the King's name, to put myſelf at the head of the ſettlers among the Natchez, and to take the command upon me; and theſe he ordered to pay the ſame obedience to me as to himſelf. We advanced with great ſilence towards the village of the Apple. It may be eaſily ſeen that all this precaution was taken in order to ſurprize our enemies, who ought ſo much the leſs to expect this act of hoſtility, as they had fairly made peace

peace with us, and as M. Paillou, Major General, had come and ratified this peace in behalf of the Governor. We marched to the enemy and inveſted the firſt hut of the Natchez, which we found ſeparate; the drums, in concert with the fifes, beat the charge; we fired upon the hut, in which were only three men and two women.

From thence we afterwards moved on to the village, that is, to ſeveral huts that ſtood together in a row. We halted at three of them that lay near each other, in which between twelve and fifteen Natchez had entrenched themſelves. By our manner of proceeding one would have thought that we came only to view the huts. Full of indignation that none exerted himſelf to fall upon them, I took upon me with my men to go round and take the enemy in rear. They took to their heels, and I purſued; but we had need of the ſwiftneſs of deer to be able to come up with them. I came ſo near, however, that they threw away their cloaths, to run with the greater ſpeed.

I rejoined our people, and expected a reprimand for having forced the enemy without orders; though I had my excuſe ready. But here I was miſtaken; for I met with nothing but encomiums.

This war, of which I ſhall give no further detail, laſted only four days. M. de Biainville demanded the head of an old mutinous Chief of this village; and the natives, in order to obtain a peace, delivered him up.

I happened to live at ſome diſtance from the village of the Apple, and very ſeldom ſaw any of the people. Such as lived nearer had more frequent viſits from them; but after this war, and the peace which followed upon it, I never ſaw one of them. My neighbours who lived nearer to them ſaw but a few of them, even a long time after the concluſion of the war. The natives of the other villages came but very ſeldom among us; and indeed, if we could have done well without them, I could have wiſhed to have been

been rid of them for ever. But we had neither a fleſh nor a fiſh-market; therefore, without them, we muſt have taken up with what the poultry-yard and kitchen-garden furniſhed; which would have been extremely inconvenient.

I one day ſtopped the Stung Serpent, who was paſſing without taking notice of any one. He was brother to the Great Sun, and Chief of the Warriors of the Natchez. I accordingly called to him, and ſaid, "We were formerly friends, "are we no longer ſo?" He anſwered, *Noco*; that is, I cannot tell. I replied, "You uſed to come to my "houſe; at preſent you paſs by. Have you forgot the "way; or is my houſe diſagreeable to you? As for me, "my heart is always the ſame, both towards you and "all my friends. I am not capable of changing, why "then are you changed?"

He took ſome time to anſwer, and ſeemed to be embarraſſed by what I ſaid to him. He never went to the fort, but when ſent for by the Commandant, who put me upon ſounding him; in order to diſcover whether his people ſtill retained any grudge.

He at length broke ſilence, and told me, "he was "aſhamed to have been ſo long without ſeeing me; but "I imagined, ſaid he, that you were diſpleaſed at our "nation; becauſe among all the French who were in "the war, you were the only one that fell upon us." "You are in the wrong," ſaid I, "to think ſo. M. de "Biainville being our War-chief, we are bound to obey "him; in like manner as you, though a Sun, are obliged "to kill, or cauſe to be killed, whomſoever your brother, "the Great Sun, orders to be put to death. Many other "Frenchmen, beſides me, ſought an opportunity to attack "your countrymen, in obedience to the orders of M. de "Biainville; and ſeveral other Frenchmen fell upon the "neareſt hut, one of whom was killed by the firſt ſhot "which the Natchez fired."

He

He then ſaid: "I did not approve, as you know, the "war our people made upon the French to avenge the "death of their relation, ſeeing I made them carry the "*pipe of peace* to the French. This you well know, "as you firſt ſmoked in the pipe yourſelf. Have the "French two hearts, a good one to-day, and to-morrow "a bad one? As for my brother and me, we have but "one heart and one word. Tell me then, if thou art, as "thou ſayeſt, my true friend, what thou thinkeſt of all "this, and ſhut thy mouth to every thing elſe. We "know not what to think of the French, who, after "having begun the war, granted a peace, and offered it "of themſelves; and then at the time we were quiet, "believing ourſelves to be at peace, people come to kill "us, without ſaying a word.

"Why," continued he, with an air of diſpleaſure, "did the French come into our country? We did not go "to ſeek them: they aſked for land of us, becauſe their "country was too little for all the men that were in it. "We told them they might take land where they pleaſed, "there was enough for them and for us; that it was "good the ſame ſun ſhould enlighten us both, and that "we would walk as friends in the ſame path; and that "we would give them of our proviſions, aſſiſt them to "build, and to labour in their fields. We have done ſo; "is not this true? What occaſion then had we for "Frenchmen? Before they came, did we not live better "than we do, ſeeing we deprive ourſelves of a part of "our corn, our game, and fiſh, to give a part to them? "In what reſpect, then, had we occaſion for them? Was "it for their guns? The bows and arrows which we uſed, "were ſufficient to make us live well. Was it for their "white, blue, and red blankets? We can do well enough "with buffalo ſkins, which are warmer; our women "wrought feather-blankets for the winter, and mulberry-"mantles for the ſummer; which indeed were not ſo "beautiful; but our women were more laborious and

"leſs

" leſs vain than they are now. In fine, before the " arrival of the French, we lived like men who can be " ſatisfied with what they have; whereas at this day we " are like ſlaves, who are not ſuffered to do as they " pleaſe."

To this unexpected diſcourſe I know not what anſwer another would have made; but I frankly own, that if at my firſt addreſs he ſeemed to be confuſed, I really was ſo in my turn. " My heart," ſaid I to him, " better un- " derſtands thy reaſons than my ears, though they are full " of them; and though I have a tongue to anſwer, my " ears have not heard the reaſons of M. de Biainville, to " tell them thee: but I know it was neceſſary to have the " head he demanded, in order to a peace. When our " Chiefs command us, we never require the reaſons: I " can ſay nothing elſe to thee. But to ſhew you that " I am always your real friend, I have here a beautiful " *pipe of peace*, which I wanted to carry to my own " country. I know you have ordered all your warriors " to kill ſome white eagles, in order to make one, becauſe " you have occaſion for it. I give it you without any " other deſign than to ſhew you that I reckon nothing " dear to me, when I want to do you a pleaſure."

I went to look for it, and I gave it him, telling him, that it was *without deſign*; that is, according to them, from no intereſted motive. The natives put as great a value on a *pipe of peace* as on a gun. Mine was adorned with tinſel and ſilver wire: ſo that in their eſtimation my pipe was worth two guns. He appeared to be extremely well pleaſed with it; put it up haſtily in his caſe, ſqueezed my hand with a ſmile, and called me his true friend.

The winter was now drawing to a cloſe, and in a little time the natives were to bring us bear-oil to truck. I hoped that by his means I ſhould have of the beſt preferably to any other; which was the only compenſation I expected for my pipe. But I was agreeably diſappointed.

pointed. He ſent me a deer-ſkin of bear-oil, ſo very large that a ſtout man could hardly carry it, and the bearer told me, that he ſent it to me as to his true friend, *without deſign*. This deer-ſkin contained thirty-one pots of the meaſure of the country, or ſixty-two pints Paris meaſure.

Three days after, the Great Sun, his brother, ſent me another deer-ſkin of the ſame oil, to the quantity of forty pints. The commoneſt ſort ſold this year at twenty ſols a pint, and I was ſure mine was not of the worſt kind.

For ſome days a *fiſtula lacrymalis* had come into my left eye, which diſcharged an humour, when preſſed, that portended danger. I ſhewed it to M. St. Hilaire, an able ſurgeon, who had practiſed for about twelve years in the Hôtel Dieu at Paris.

He told me it was neceſſary to uſe the fire for it; and that, notwithſtanding this operation, my ſight would remain as good as ever, only my eye would be blood-ſhot: and that if I did not ſpeedily ſet about the operation, the bone of the noſe would become carious.

Theſe reaſons gave me much uneaſineſs, as having both to fear and to ſuffer at the ſame time: however, after I had reſolved to undergo the operation, the Grand Sun and his brother came one morning very early, with a man loaded with game, as a preſent for me.

The Great Sun obſerved I had a ſwelling in my eye, and aſked me what was the matter with it. I ſhewed it him, and told him, that in order to cure it, I muſt have fire put to it; but that I had ſome difficulty to comply, as I dreaded the conſequences of ſuch an operation. Without replying, or in the leaſt apprizing me, he ordered the man who brought the game to go in queſt of his phyſician, and tell him, he waited for him at my houſe. The meſſenger and phyſician made ſuch diſpatch, that this laſt came in an hour after. The Great Sun ordered him to look at my eye, and endeavour to cure me: after examining

ing it, the phyſician ſaid, he would undertake to cure me with ſimples and common water. I conſented to this with ſo much the greater pleaſure and readineſs, as by this treatment I ran no manner of riſque.

That very evening the phyſician came with his ſimples, all pounded together, and making but a ſingle ball, which he put with the water in a deep baſon, he made me bend my head into it, ſo as the eye affected ſtood dipt quite open in the water. I continued to do ſo for eight or ten days, morning and evening; after which, without any other operation, I was perfectly cured, and never after had any return of the diſorder.

It is eaſy from this relation to underſtand what dextrous phyſicians the natives of Louiſiana are. I have ſeen them perform ſurpriſing cures on Frenchmen; on two eſpecially, who had put themſelves under the hands of a French ſurgeon ſettled at this poſt. Both patients were about to undergo the grand cure; and after having been under the hands of the ſurgeon for ſome time, their heads ſwelled to ſuch a degree, that one of them made his eſcape, with as much agility as a criminal would from the hands of juſtice, when a favourable opportunity offers. He applied to a Natchez phyſician, who cured him in eight days: his comrade continuing ſtill under the French ſurgeon, died under his hands three days after the eſcape of his companion, whom I ſaw three years after in a ſtate of perfect health.

In the war which I lately mentioned, the Grand Chief of the Tonicas, our allies, was wounded with a ball, which went through his cheek, came out under the jaw, again entered his body at the neck, and pierced through to the ſhoulder-blade, lodging at laſt between the fleſh and the ſkin: the wound had its direction in this manner; becauſe when he received it, he happened to be in a ſtooping poſture, as were all his men, in order to fire. The French ſurgeon, under whoſe care he was, and who dreſſed

dreſſed him with great precaution, was an able man, and ſpared no pains in order to effect a cure. But the phyſicians of this Chief, who viſited him every day, aſked the Frenchman what time the cure would take? he anſwered, ſix weeks at leaſt: they returned no anſwer, but went directly and made a litter; ſpoke to their Chief, and put him on it, carried him off, and treated him in their own manner, and in eight days effected a complete cure.

Theſe are facts well known in the colony. The phyſicians of the country have performed many other cures, which, if they were to be all related, would require a whole volume apart; but I have confined myſelf to the three above mentioned, in order to ſhew that diſorders frequently accounted almoſt incurable, are, without any painful operation, and in a ſhort time, cured by phyſicians, natives of Louiſiana.

The Weſt India Company being informed that this province produces a great many ſimples, whoſe virtues, known by the natives, afforded ſo eaſy a cure to all ſorts of diſtempers, ordered M. de la Chaiſe, who was ſent from France in quality of Director General of this colony, to cauſe enquiry to be made into the ſimples proper for phyſick and for dying, by means of ſome Frenchmen, who might perhaps be maſters of the ſecrets of the natives. I was pointed out for this purpoſe to M. de la Chaiſe, who was but juſt arrived, and who wrote to me, deſiring my aſſiſtance in this enquiry; which I gave him with pleaſure, and in which I exerted myſelf to my utmoſt, becauſe I well knew the Company continually aimed at what might be for the benefit of the colony.

After I thought I had done in that reſpect, what might give ſatisfaction to the Company, I tranſplanted in earth, put into cane baſkets, above three hundred ſimples, with their numbers, and a memorial, which gave a detail of their virtues, and taught the manner of uſing them. I afterwards underſtood that they were planted in a botanic garden made for the purpoſe, by order of the Company.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

French *Settlements, or Poſts. The Poſt at* Mobile. *The Mouths of the* Miſſiſippi. *The Situation and Deſcription of* New Orleans.

THE Settlement at Mobile was the firſt ſeat of the colony in this province. It was the reſidence of the Commandant General, the Commiſſary General, the Staff-officers, &c. As veſſels could not enter the river Mobile, and there was a ſmall harbour at Iſle Dauphine, a ſettlement was made ſuited to the harbour, with a guard-houſe for its ſecurity: ſo that theſe two ſettlements may be ſaid to have made but one; both on account of their proximity, and neceſſary connection with each other. The ſettlement of Mobile, ten leagues, however, from its harbour, lies on the banks of the river of that name; and Iſle Dauphine, over againſt the mouth of that river, is four leagues from the coaſt.

Though the ſettlement of Mobile be the oldeſt, yet it is far from being the moſt conſiderable. Only ſome inhabitants remained there, the greateſt part of the firſt inhabitants having left it, in order to ſettle on the river Miſſiſippi, ever ſince New Orleans became the capital of the colony. That old poſt is the ordinary reſidence of a King's Lieutenant, a Regulating Commiſſary, and a Treaſurer. The fort, with four baſtions, terraced and paliſaded, has a garriſon.

This poſt is a check upon the nation of Choctaws, and cuts off the communication of the Engliſh with them; it protects the neighbouring nations, and keeps them in our alliance; in fine, it ſupports our peltry trade, which is conſiderable with the Choctaws and other nations *.

* Fort Lewis at Mobile is built upon the river that bears the ſame name, which falls into the ſea oppoſite to Dauphine iſland. The fort is about 15 or 16 leagues diſtant from that iſland; and is built of brick, fortified

The ſame reaſon which pointed out the neceſſity of this poſt, with reſpect to the Choctaws, alſo ſhewed the neceſſity of building a fort at Tombecbé, to check the Engliſh in their ambitious views on the ſide of the Chicaſaws. That fort was built only ſince the war with the Chicaſaws in 1736.

Near the river Mobile ſtands the ſmall ſettlement of the Paſca-Ogoulas; which conſiſts only of a few Canadians, lovers of tranquillity, which they prefer to all the advantages they could reap from commerce. They content themſelves with a frugal country life, and never go to New Orleans but for neceſſaries.

From that ſettlement quite to New Orleans, by the way of Lake St. Louis, there is no poſt at preſent. Formerly, and juſt before the building of the capital, there were the old and new Biloxi: ſettlements, which have deſerved an oblivion as laſting as their duration was ſhort.

To proceed with order and perſpicuity, we will go up the Miſſiſippi from its mouth.

Fort Baliſe is at the entrance of the Miſſiſippi, in 29° degrees North Latitude, and 286° 30$^{\prime}$ of Longitude. This fort is built on an iſle, at one of the mouths of the Miſſiſippi. Tho' there are but ſeventeen feet water in the channel, I have ſeen veſſels of five hundred ton enter into

tified with four baſtions, in the manner of Vauban, with half-moons, a covered way and glacis. There is a magazine in it, with barracks for the troops of the garriſon, which is generally pretty numerous, and a flag for the commandant.

I muſt own, I never could ſee for what reaſon this fort was built, or what could be the uſe of it. For although it is 120 leagues from the capital, to go down the river, yet it is from thence that they muſt have every thing that is neceſſary for the ſupport of the garriſon: and the ſoil is ſo bad, being nothing but ſand, that it produces nothing but pines and firs, with a little pulſe, which grows there but very indifferently: ſo that there are here but very few people. The only advantage of this place is, that the air is mild and healthful, and that it affords a traffick with the Spaniards who are near it. The winter is the moſt agreeable ſeaſon, as it is mild, and affords plenty of game. But in ſummer the heats are exceſſive; and the inhabitants have nothing hardly to live upon but fiſh, which are pretty plentiful on the coaſt, and in the rivers. *Dumont*, II. 80.

into it. I know not why this entrance is left ſo neglected, as we are not in want of able engineers in France, in the hydraulic branch, a part of the mathematics to which I have moſt applyed myſelf. I know it is no eaſy matter ſo to deepen or hollow the channel of a bar, that it may never after need clearing, aud that the expences run high: but my zeal for promoting the advantage of this colony having prompted me to make reflections on thoſe paſſes, or entrances of the Miſſiſippi, and being perfectly well acquainted both with the country and the nature of the ſoil, I dare flatter myſelf, I may be able to accompliſh it, to the great benefit of the province, and acquit myſelf therein with honour, at a ſmall charge, and in a manner not to need repetition *.

I ſay, fort Baliſe is built upon an iſland; a circumſtance, I imagine, ſufficient to make it underſtood, that this fort is irregular; the figure and extent of this ſmall iſland not admitting it to be otherwiſe.

In going up the Miſſiſippi, we meet with nothing remarkable before we come to the Detour aux Anglois, the Engliſh Reach: in that part the river takes a large compaſs; ſo that the ſame wind, which was before fair, proves contrary in this elbow, or reach. For this reaſon it was thought proper to build two forts at that place, one on each ſide of the river, to check any attempts of ſtrangers. Theſe forts are more than ſufficient to oppoſe the paſſage of an hundred ſail; as ſhips can go up the river, only one after another, and can neither caſt anchor, nor come on ſhore to moor.

It will, perhaps, be thought extraordinary that ſhips cannot anchor in this place. I imagine the reader will

* Seven leagues above the mouth of the river we meet with two other paſſes, as large as the middle one by which we entered; one is called the Otter Paſs, and the other the Eaſt-Paſs; and they aſſure me, it is only by this laſt paſs that ſhips now go up or down the river, they having entirely deſerted the ancient middle paſs. *Dumont*, I. 4.

Many other bays and rivers, not known to our authors, lying along the bay of Mexico, to the weſtward of the Miſſiſippi, are deſcribed by Mr. Coxe, in his account of Carolina, called by the French Louiſiana.

be of my opinion, when I tell him, the bottom is only a ſoft mud, or ooze, almoſt entirely covered with dead trees, and this for upwards of an hundred leagues. As to putting on ſhore, it is equally impoſſible and needleſs to attempt it; becauſe the place where theſe forts ſtand, is but a neck of land between the river and the marſhes: now it is impoſſible for a ſhallop, or canoe, to come near to moor a veſſel, in ſight of a fort well guarded, or for an enemy to throw up a trench in a neck of land ſo ſoft. Beſides, the ſituation of the two forts is ſuch, that they may in a ſhort time receive ſuccours, both from the inhabitants, who are on the interior edge of the creſcent, formed by the river, and from New Orleans, which is very near thereto.

The diſtance from this place to the capital is reckoned ſix leagues by water, and the courſe nearly circular; the winding, or reach, having the figure of a C almoſt cloſe. Both ſides of the river are lined with houſes, which afford a beautiful proſpect to the eye; however, as this voyage is tedious by water, it is often performed on horſeback by land.

The great difficulties attending the going up the river under ſail, particularly at the Engliſh Reach, for the reaſons mentioned, put me upon deviſing a very ſimple and cheap machine, to make veſſels go up with eaſe quite to New-Orleans. Ships are ſometimes a month in the paſſage from Baliſe to the capital; whereas by my method they would not be eight days, even with a contrary wind; and thus ſhips would go four times quicker than by towing, or turning it. This machine might be depoſited at Baliſe, and delivered to the veſſel, in order to go up the current, and be returned again on its ſetting ſail. It is beſides proper to obſerve, that this machine would be no detriment to the forts, as they would always have it in their power to ſtop the veſſels of enemies, who might happen to uſe it.

New Orleans, the capital of the colony, is ſituated to the Eaſt, on the banks of the Miſſiſippi, in 30° of North Latitude.

Latitude. At my firſt arrival in Louiſiana, it exiſted only in name; for on my landing I underſtood M. de Biainville, commandant general, was only gone to mark out the ſpot; whence he returned three days after our arrival at Iſle Dauphine.

He pitched upon this ſpot in preference to many others, more agreeable and commodious; but for that time this was a place proper enough: beſides, it is not every man that can ſee ſo far as ſome others. As the principal ſettlement was then at Mobile, it was proper to have the capital fixed at a place from which there could be an eaſy communication with this poſt: and thus a better choice could not have been made, as the town being on the banks of the Miſſiſippi, veſſels, tho' of a thouſand ton, may lay their ſides cloſe to the ſhore even at low water; or at moſt, need only lay a ſmall bridge, with two of their yards, in order to load or unload, to roll barrels and bales, &c. without fatiguing the ſhip's crew. This town is only a league from St. John's creek, where paſſengers take water for Mobile, in going to which they paſs Lake St. Louis, and from thence all along the coaſt; a communication which was neceſſary at that time.

I ſhould imagine, that if a town was at this day to be built in this province, a riſing ground would be pitched upon, to avoid inundations; beſides, the bottom ſhould be ſufficiently firm, for bearing grand ſtone edifices.

Such as have been a good way in the country, without ſeeing ſtone, or the leaſt pebble, in upwards of a hundred leagues extent, will doubtleſs ſay, ſuch a propoſition is impoſſible, as they never obſerved ſtone proper for building in the parts they travelled over. I might anſwer, and tell them, they have eyes, and ſee not. I narrowly conſidered the nature of this country, and found quarries in it; and if there were any in the colony I ought to find them, as my condition and profeſſion of architect ſhould have procured me the knowledge of them.

After giving the ſituation of the capital, it is proper I deſcribe the order in which it is built.

The place of arms is in the middle of that part of the town which faces the river; in the middle of the ground of the place of arms ſtands the pariſh church, called St. Louis, where the Capuchins officiate, whoſe houſe is to the left of the church. To the right ſtand the priſon, or jail, and the guard-houſe: both ſides of the place of arms are taken up by two bodies or rows of barracks. This place ſtands all open to the river.

All the ſtreets are laid out both in length and breadth by the line, and interſect and croſs each other at right angles. The ſtreets divide the town into ſixty-ſix iſles; eleven along the river lengthwiſe, or in front, and ſix in depth: each of thoſe iſles is fifty ſquare toiſes, and each again divided into twelve emplacements, or compartments, for lodging as many families. The Intendant's houſe ſtands behind the barracks on the left; and the magazine, or warehouſe-general behind the barracks on the right, on viewing the town from the river ſide. The Governor's houſe ſtands in the middle of that part of the town, from which we go from the place of arms to the habitation of the Jeſuits, which is near the town. The houſe of the Urſulin Nuns is quite at the end of the town, to the right; as is alſo the hoſpital of the ſick, of which the nuns have the inſpection. What I have juſt deſcribed faces the river.

On the banks of the river runs a cauſey, or mole, as well on the ſide of the town as on the oppoſite ſide, from the Engliſh Reach quite to the town, and about ten leagues beyond it; which makes about fifteen or ſixteen leagues on each ſide the river; and which may be travelled in a coach or on horſeback, on a bottom as ſmooth as a table.

The greateſt part of the houſes is of brick; the reſt are of timber and brick.

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The length of the cauſeys, I juſt mentioned, is ſufficient to ſhew, that on theſe two ſides of the Miſſiſippi there are many habitations ſtanding cloſe together; each making a cauſey to ſecure his ground from inundations, which fail not to come every year with the ſpring: and at that time, if any ſhips happen to be in the harbour of New Orleans, they ſpeedily ſet ſail; becauſe the prodigious quantity of dead wood, or trees torn up by the roots, which the river brings down, would lodge before the ſhip, and break the ſtouteſt cables.

At the end of St. John's Creek, on the banks of the Lake St. Louis, there is a redoubt, and a guard to defend it.

From this creek to the town, a part of its banks is inhabited by planters; in like manner as are the long banks of another creek: the habitations of this laſt go under the name of Gentilly.

After theſe habitations, which are upon the Miſſiſippi quite beyond the Cannes Brulées, Burnt Canes, we meet none till we come to the Oumas, a petty nation ſo called. This ſettlement is inconſiderable, tho' one of the oldeſt next to the capital. It lies on the eaſt of the Miſſiſippi.

The Baton Rouge is alſo on the eaſt ſide of the Miſſiſippi, and diſtant twenty-ſix leagues from New Orleans: it was formerly the grant of M. Artaguette d'Iron: it is there we ſee the famous cypreſs-tree, of which a ſhip-carpenter offered to make two pettyaugres, one of ſixteen, the other of fourteen tons. Some one of the firſt adventurers, who landed in this quarter, happened to ſay, that tree would make a fine walking-ſtick; and as cypreſs is a red wood, it was afterwards called le Baton Rouge. Its height could never be meaſured, it riſes ſo out of ſight.

Two leagues higher up than le Baton Rouge, was the Grant of M. Paris du Vernai. This ſettlement is called Bayou-Ogoulas, from a nation of that name, which formerly dwelt here. It is on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſippi, and twenty-eight leagues from New Orleans.

At a league on this ſide of Pointe Coupée, are les Petits Ecores, (little Cliffs) where was the grant of the Marquis de Mezieres. At this grant were a director and under-director; but the ſurgeon found out the ſecret of remaining ſole maſter. The place is very beautiful, eſpecially behind les Petits Ecores, where we go up by a gentle aſcent. Near theſe cliffs, a rivulet falls into the Miſſiſippi, into which a ſpring diſcharges its waters, which ſo attract the buffalo's, that they are very often found on its banks. 'Tis a pity this ground was deſerted; there was enough of it to make a very conſiderable grant: a good water-mill might be built on the brook I juſt mentioned.

At forty leagues from New Orleans lies la Pointe Coupée, ſo called, becauſe the Miſſiſippi made there an elbow or winding, and formed the figure of a circle, open only about an hundred and odd toiſes, thro' which it made itſelf a ſhorter way, and where all its water runs at preſent. This was not the work of nature alone: two travellers, coming down the Miſſiſippi, were forced to ſtop ſhort at this place; becauſe they obſerved at a diſtance the ſurff, or waves, to be very high, the wind beating againſt the current, and the river being out, ſo that they durſt not venture to proceed. Juſt by them paſſed a rivulet, cauſed by the inundation, which might be a foot deep, by four or five feet broad, more or leſs. One of the travellers, ſeeing himſelf without any thing to do, took his fuſil and followed the courſe of this rivulet, in hopes of killing ſome game. He had not gone an hundred toiſes, before he was put into a very great ſurprize, on perceiving a great opening, as when one is juſt getting out of a thick foreſt. He continues to advance, ſees a large extent of water, which he takes for a lake; but turning on his left, he eſpies les Petits Ecores, juſt mentioned, and by experience he knew, he muſt go ten leagues to get thither: Upon this he knew, theſe were the waters of the river. He runs to acquaint his companion: this laſt wants to be ſure of it: certain as they are both of it, they reſolve, that

it was neceſſary to cut away the roots, which ſtood in the paſſage, and to level the more elevated places. They attempted at length to paſs their pettyaugre through, by puſhing it before them. They ſucceeded beyond their expectation; the water which came on, aided them as much by its weight as by its depth, which was increaſed by the obſtacle it met in its way: and they ſaw themſelves in a ſhort time in the Miſſiſippi, ten leagues lower down than they were an hour before; or than they would have been, if they had followed the bed of the river, as they were formerly conſtrained to do.

This little labour of our travellers moved the earth; the roots being cut away in part, proved no longer an obſtacle to the courſe of the water; the ſlope or deſcent in this ſmall paſſage was equal to that in the river for the ten leagues of the compaſs it took; in fine, nature, though feebly aided, performed the reſt. The firſt time I went up the river, its entire body of water paſſed through this part; and though the channel was only made ſix years before, the old bed was almoſt filled with the ooze, which the river had there depoſited; and I have ſeen trees growing there of an aſtoniſhing ſize, that one might wonder how they ſhould come to be ſo large in ſo ſhort a time.

In this ſpot, which is called la Pointe Coupée, the Cut-point, was the Grant of M. de Meuſe, at preſent one of the moſt conſiderable poſts of the colony, with a fort, a garriſon, and an officer to command there. The river is on each ſide lined with inhabitants, who make a great deal of tobacco. There an Inſpector reſides, who examines and receives it, in order to prevent the merchants being defrauded. The inhabitants of the weſt ſide have high lands behind them, which form a very fine country, as I have obſerved above.

Twenty leagues above this Cut-point, and ſixty leagues from New Orleans, we meet with the Red River. In an iſland formed by that river, ſtands a French poſt, with a fort, a garriſon, its commandant and officers. The firſt inha-

inhabitants who ſettled there, were ſome ſoldiers of that poſt, diſcharged after their time of ſerving was expired, who ſet themſelves to make tobacco in the iſland. But the fine ſand, carried by the wind upon the leaves of the tobacco, made it of a bad quality, which obliged them to abandon the iſland and ſettle on the continent, where they found a good ſoil, on which they made better tobacco. This poſt is called the Nachitoches, from a nation of that name, ſettled in the neighbourhood. At this poſt M. de St. Denis commanded.

Several inhabitants of Louiſiana, allured thither by the hopes of making ſoon great fortunes, becauſe diſtant only ſeven leagues from the Spaniards, imagined the abundant treaſures of New Mexico would pour in upon them. But in this they happened to be miſtaken; for the Spaniſh poſt, called the Adaïes, has leſs money in it than the pooreſt village in Europe; the Spaniards being ill clad, ill fed, and always ready to buy goods of the French on credit: which may be ſaid in general of all the Spaniards of New Mexico, amidſt all their mines of gold and ſilver. This we are well informed of by our merchants, who have dealt with the Spaniards of this poſt, and found their habitations and way of living to be very mean, and more ſo than thoſe of the French.

From the confluence of this Red River, in going up the Miſſiſippi, as we have hitherto done, we find, about thirty leagues higher up, the poſt of the Natchez.

Let not the reader be diſpleaſed at my ſaying often, *nearly*, or *about ſo many leagues:* we can aſcertain nothing juſtly as to the diſtances in a country where we travel only by water. Thoſe who go up the Miſſiſippi, having more trouble, and taking more time than thoſe who go down, reckon the route more or leſs long, according to the time in which they make their voyage; beſides, when the water is high, it covers paſſes, which often ſhorten the way a great deal.

The

The Natchez are ſituate in about 32º odd minutes of north latitude, and 280º of longitude. The fort at this poſt ſtands two hundred feet perpendicular above low-water mark. From this fort the point of view extends weſt of the Miſſiſippi quite to the horizon, that is, on the ſide oppoſite to that where the fort ſtands, though the weſt ſide be covered with woods; becauſe the foot of the fort ſtands much higher than the trees. On the ſame ſide with the fort, the country holds at a pretty equal height, and declines only by a gentle and almoſt imperceptible ſlope, inſenſibly loſing itſelf from one eminence to another.

The nation which gave name to this poſt, inhabited this very place at a league from the landing-place on the Miſſiſippi, and dwelt on the banks of a rivulet, which has only a courſe of four or five leagues to that river. All travellers who paſſed and ſtopped here, went to pay a viſit to the natives, the Natchez. The diſtance of the league they went to them is through ſo fine and good a country, the natives themſelves were ſo obliging and familiar, and the women ſo amiable, that all travellers failed not to make the greateſt encomiums both on the country, and on the native inhabitants.

The juſt commendations beſtowed upon them drew thither inhabitants in ſuch numbers, as to determine the Company to give orders for building a fort there, as well to ſupport the French already ſettled, and thoſe who ſhould afterwards come thither, as to be a check on that nation. The garriſon conſiſted only of between thirty and forty men, a Captain, a Lieutenant, Under-Lieutenant, and two Serjeants.

The Company had there a warehouſe for the ſupply of the inhabitants, who were daily increaſing in ſpite of all the efforts of one of the principal Superiors, who put all imaginable obſtacles in the way: and notwithſtanding the progreſs this ſettlement made, and the encomiums beſtowed

beſtowed upon it, and which it deſerved, God in his providence gave it up to the rage of its enemies, in order to take vengeance of the ſins committed there; for without mentioning thoſe who eſcaped the general maſſacre, there periſhed of them upwards of five hundred.

Forty leagues higher up than the Natchez, is the river Yaſou. The Grant of M. le Blanc, Miniſter, or Secretary at War, was ſettled there, four leagues from the Miſſiſippi, as you go up this little river *. There a fort ſtands, with a company of men, commanded by a Captain, a Lieutenant, Under-Lieutenant, and two Serjeants. This company, together with the ſervants, were in the pay of this Miniſter.

This poſt was very advantageouſly ſituated, as well for the goodneſs of the air as the quality of the ſoil, like to that of the Natchez, as for the landing-place, which was very commodious, and for the commerce with the natives, if our people but knew how to gain and preſerve their friendſhip. But the neighbourhood of the Chicaſaws, ever faſt friends of the Engliſh, and ever inſtigated by them to give us uneaſineſs, almoſt cut off any hopes of ſucceeding. This poſt was on theſe accounts threatned with utter ruin, ſooner or later; as actually happened in 1722, by means of thoſe wretched Chicaſaws; who came in the night and murdered the people in the ſettlements that were made by two ſerjeants out of the fort. But a boy who was ſcalped by them was cured, and eſcaped with life.

Sixty miles higher up than the Yaſouz, and at the diſtance of two hundred leagues from New Orleans, dwell the Arkanſas, to the weſt of the Miſſiſippi. At the entrance of the river which goes by the name of that nation, there

* The village of the Indians (Yaſous) is a league from this ſettlement; and on one ſide of it there is a hill, on which they pretend that the Engliſh formerly had a fort; accordingly there are ſtill ſome traces of it to be ſeen. *Dumont*, II. 296.

there is a ſmall fort, which defends that poſt, which is the ſecond of the colony in point of time.

It is a great pity ſo good and fine a country is diſtant from the ſea upwards of two hundred leagues. I cannot omit mentioning, that wheat thrives extremely well here, without our being obliged ever to manure the land; and I am ſo prepoſſeſſed in its favour, that I perſuade myſelf the beauty of the climate has a great influence on the character of the inhabitants, who are at the ſame time very gentle and very brave. They have ever had an inviolable friendſhip for the French, uninfluenced thereto either by fear or views of intereſt; and live with the French near them as brethren rather than as neighbours.

In going from the Arkanſas to the Illinois, we meet with the river St. Francis, thirty leagues more to the north, and on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſippi. There a ſmall fort has been built ſince my return to France. To the Eaſt of the Miſſiſippi, but more to the north, we alſo meet, at about thirty leagues, the river Margot, near the ſteep banks of Prud'homme: there a fort was alſo built, called Aſſumption, for undertaking an expedition againſt the Chicaſaws, who are nearly in the ſame latitude. Theſe two forts, after that expedition, were entirely demoliſhed by the French, becauſe they were thought to be no longer neceſſary. It is, however, probable enough, that this fort Aſſumption would have been a check upon the Chicaſaws, who are always roving in thoſe parts. Beſides, the ſteep banks of Prud'homme contain iron and pit-coal. On the other hand, the country is very beautiful, and of an excellent quality, abounding with plains and meadows, which favour the excurſions of the Chicaſaws, and which they will ever continue to make upon us, till we have the addreſs to divert them from their commerce with the Engliſh.

We have no other French ſettlements to mention in Louiſiana, but that of the Illinois; in which part of the colony

colony we had the firſt fort. At preſent the French ſettlement here is on the banks of the Miſſiſippi, near one of the villages of the Illinois *. That poſt is commanded by one of the principal officers; and M. de Bois-Briant, who was lieutenant of the king, has commanded at it.

Many French inhabitants both from Canada and Europe live there at this day; but the Canadians make three-fourths at leaſt. The Jeſuits have the Cure there, with a fine habitation and a mill; in digging the foundation of which laſt, a quarry of orbicular flat ſtones was found, about two inches in diameter, of the ſhape of a buffoon's cap, with ſix ſides, whoſe groove was ſet with ſmall buttons of the ſize of the head of a minikin or ſmall pin. Some of theſe ſtones were bigger, ſome ſmaller; between the ſtones which could not be joined, there was no earth found.

The Canadians, who are numerous in Louiſiana, are moſt of them at the Illinois. This climate, doubtleſs, agrees better with them, becauſe nearer Canada than any other ſettlement of the colony. Beſides, in coming from Canada, they always paſs through this ſettlement; which makes them chooſe to continue here. They bring their wives with them, or marry the French or India women. The ladies even venture to make this long and painful voyage from Canada, in order to end their days in a country which the Canadians look upon as a terreſtrial paradiſe †.

CHAP.

* They have, or had formerly, other ſettlements hereabouts, at Kaſkaſkies, fort Chartres, Tamaroas, and on the river Marameg, on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſippi, where they found thoſe mines that gave riſe to the Miſſiſippi ſcheme in 1719. In 1742, when John Howard, Sallee and others, were ſent from Virginia to view thoſe countries, they were made priſoners by the French; who came from a ſettlement they had on an iſland in the Miſſiſippi, a little above the Ohio, where they made ſalt, lead, &c. and went from thence to New Orleans, in a fleet of boats and canoes, guarded by a large armed ſchooner. *Report of the Government of* Virginia.

† It is this that has made the French undergo ſo many long and perilous voyages in North-America, upwards of two thouſand miles, againſt currents,

CHAP. X.

The Voyages of the French *to the* Miſſouris, Canzas, *and* Padoucas. *The Settlements they in vain attempted to make in thoſe Countries; with a Deſcription of an extraordinary Phænomenon.*

THE Padoucas, who lie weſt by northweſt of the Miſſouris, happened at that time to be at war with the neighbouring nations, the Canzas, Othouez, Aïaouez, Oſages, Miſſouris, and Panimahas, all in amity with the French. To conciliate a peace between all theſe nations and the Padoucas, M. de Bourgmont ſent to engage them, as being our allies, to accompany him on a journey to the Padoucas, in order to bring about a general pacification, and by that means to facilitate the traffick or truck between them and us, and conclude an alliance with the Padoucas.

For this purpoſe M. de Bourgmont ſet out on the 3d of July, 1724, from Fort Orleans, which lies near the Miſſouris, a nation dwelling on the banks of the river of that name, in order to join that people, and then to proceed to the Canzas, where the general rendezvous of the ſeveral nations was appointed.

M. de Bourgmont was accompanied by an hundred Miſſouris, commanded by their Grand Chief, and eight other Chiefs of war, and by ſixty-four Oſages, commanded

rents, cataracts, and boiſterous winds on the lakes, in order to get to this ſettlement of the Illinois, which is nigh to the Forks of the Miſſiſippi, the moſt important place in all the inland parts of North-America, to which the French will ſooner or later remove from Canada; and there erect another Montreal, that will be much more dangerous and prejudicial to us, than ever the other in Canada was. They will here be in the midſt of all their old friends and allies, and much more convenient to carry on a trade with them, to ſpirit them up againſt the Engliſh, &c. than ever they were at Montreal. To this ſettlement, where they likewiſe are not without good hopes of finding mines, the French will for ever be removing, as long as any of them are left in Canada.

manded by four Chiefs of war, beſides a few Frenchmen. On the ſixth he joined the Grand Chief, ſix other Chiefs of war, and ſeveral Warriors of the Canzas, who preſented him the Pipe of Peace, and performed the honours cuſtomary on ſuch occaſions, to the Miſſouris and Oſages.

On the 7th they paſſed through extenſive meadows and woods, and arrived on the banks of the river Miſſouri, over againſt the village of the Canzas.

On the 8th the French croſſed the Miſſouri in a petty-augre, the Indians on floats of cane, and the horſes were ſwam over. They landed within a gun-ſhot of the Canzas, who flocked to receive them with the Pipe; their Grand Chief, in the name of the nation, aſſuring M. de Bourgmont, that all their Warriors would accompany him in his journey to the Padoucas, with proteſtations of friendſhip and fidelity, confirmed by ſmoking the Pipe. The ſame aſſurances were made him by the other Chiefs, who entertained him in their huts, and * rubbed him over and his companions.

On the 9th M. de Bourgmont diſpatched five Miſſouris to acquaint the Othouez with his arrival at the Canzas. They returned on the 10th, and brought word that the Othouez promiſed to hunt for him and his Warriors, and to cauſe proviſions to be dried for the journey; that their Chief would ſet out directly, in order to wait on M. de Bourgmont, and carry him the word of the whole nation.

The Canzas continued to regale the French; brought them alſo great quantities of grapes, of which the French made a good wine.

On the 24th of July, at ſix in the morning, this little army ſet out, conſiſting of three hundred Warriors, including the Chiefs of the Canzas, three hundred women, about five hundred young people, and at leaſt three hundred dogs. The women carried conſiderable loads, to the aſtoniſh-

* It is thus they expreſs their joy and careſſes, at the ſight of a perſon they reſpect.

aſtoniſhment of the French, unaccuſtomed to ſuch a ſight. The young women alſo were well loaded for their years; and the dogs were made to trail a part of the baggage, and that in the following manner: the back of the dog was covered with a ſkin, with its pile on, then the dog was girthed round, and his breaſt-leather put on; and taking two poles of the thickneſs of one's arm, and twelve feet long, they faſtened their two ends half a foot aſunder, laying on the dog's ſaddle the thong that faſtened the two poles; and to the poles they alſo faſtened, behind the dog, a ring or hoop, lengthwiſe, on which they laid the load.

On the 28th and 29th the army croſſed ſeveral brooks and ſmall rivers, paſſed through ſeveral meadows and thickets, meeting every where on their way a great deal of game.

On the 30th M. de Bourgmont, finding himſelf very ill, was obliged to have a litter made, in order to be carried back to Fort Orleans till he ſhould recover. Before his departure he gave orders about two Padouca ſlaves whom he had ranſomed, and was to ſend before him to that nation, in order to ingratiate himſelf by this act of generoſity. Theſe he cauſed to be ſent by one Gaillard, who was to tell their nation, that M. de Bourgmont, being fallen ill on his intended journey to their country, was obliged to return home; but that as ſoon as he got well again, he would reſume his journey to their country, in order to procure a general peace between them and the other nations.

On the evening of the ſame day arrived at the camp the Grand Chief of the Othouez: who acquainted M. de Bourgmont, that a great part of his Warriors waited for him on the road to the Padoucas, and that he came to receive his orders; but was ſorry to find him ill.

At length, on the 4th of Auguſt, M. de Bourgmont ſet out from the Canzas in a pettyaugre, and arrived the 5th at Fort Orleans.

On the 6th of September, M. de Bourgmont, who was ſtill at Fort Orleans, was informed of the arrival of the two Padouca ſlaves on the 25th of Auguſt at their own nation; and that meeting on the way a body of Padouca hunters, a day's journey from their village, the Padouca ſlaves made the ſignal of their nation, by throwing their mantles thrice over their heads: that they ſpoke much in commendation of the generoſity of M. de Bourgmont, who had ranſomed them: told all he had done in order to a general pacification: in fine, extolled the French to ſuch a degree, that their diſcourſe, held in preſence of the Grand Chief and of the whole nation, diffuſed an univerſal joy: that Gaillard told them, the flag they ſaw was the ſymbol of Peace, and the word of the Sovereign of the French: that in a little time the ſeveral nations would come to be like brethren, and have but one heart.

The Grand Chief of the Padoucas was ſo well aſſured that the war was now at an end, that he diſpatched twenty Padoucas with Gaillard to the Canzas, by whom they were extremely well received. The Padoucas, on their return home, related their good reception among the Canzas; and as a plain and real proof of the pacification meditated by the French, brought with them fifty of the Canzas and three of their women; who, in their turn, were received by the Padoucas with all poſſible marks of friendſhip.

Though M. de Bourgmont was but juſt recovering of his illneſs; he, however, prepared for his departure, and on the 20th of September actually ſet out from Fort Orleans by water, and arrived at the Canzas on the 27th.

Gaillard arrived on the 2d of October at the camp of the Canzas, with three Chiefs of war, and three Warriors of the Padoucas, who were received by M. de Bourgmont

mont with flag diſplayed, and other teſtimonies of civility, and had preſents made them of ſeveral goods, proper for their uſe.

On the 4th of October arrived at the Canzas the Grand Chief, and ſeven other Chiefs of war of the Othouez; and next day, very early, ſix Chiefs of war of the Aïaouez.

M. de Bourgmont aſſembled all the Chiefs preſent, and ſetting them round a large fire made before his tent, roſe up, and addreſſing himſelf to them, ſaid, he was come to declare to them, in the name of his Sovereign, and of the Grand French Chief in the country *, that it was the will of his Sovereign, they ſhould all live in peace for the future, like brethren and friends, if they expected to enjoy his love and protection: and ſince, ſays he, you are here all aſſembled this day, it is good you conclude a peace, and all ſmoke in the ſame pipe.

The Chiefs of theſe different nations roſe up to a man, and ſaid with one conſent, they were well ſatisfied to comply with his requeſt; and inſtantly gave each other their pipes of peace.

After an entertainment prepared for them, the Padoucas ſung the ſongs, and danced the dances of peace; a kind of pantomimes, repreſenting the innocent pleaſures of peace.

On the 6th of October, M. de Bourgmont cauſed three lots of goods to be made out; one for the Othouez, one for the Aïaouez, and one for the Panimahas, which laſt arrived in the mean time; and made them all ſmoke in the ſame pipe of peace.

On the 8th M. de Bourgmont ſet out from the Canzas with all the baggage, and the flag diſplayed, at the head of the French and ſuch Indians as he had pitched on to to accompany him, in all forty perſons. The goods in-

* The Governor of Louiſiana.

tended for preſents were loaded on horſes. As they ſet out late, they travelled but five leagues, in which they croſſed a ſmall river and two brooks, in a fine country, with little wood.

The ſame day Gaillard, Quenel, and two Padoucas were diſpatched to acquaint their nation with the march of the French. That day they travelled ten leagues, croſſed one river and two brooks.

The 10th they made eight leagues, croſſed two ſmall rivers and three brooks. To their right and left they had ſeveral ſmall hills, on which one could obſerve pieces of rock even with the ground. Along the rivers there is found a ſlate, and in the meadows, a reddiſh marble, ſtanding out of the earth, one, two, and three feet; ſome pieces of it upwards of ſix feet in diameter.

The 11th they paſſed over ſeveral brooks and a ſmall river, and then the river of the Canzas, which had only three feet water. Further on, they found ſeveral brooks, iſſuing from the neighbouring little hills. The river of the Canzas runs directly from weſt to eaſt, and falls into the Miſſouri; is very great in floods, becauſe, according to the report of the Padoucas, it comes a great way off. The woods, which border this river, afford a retreat to numbers of buffaloes and other game. On the left were ſeen great eminences, with hanging rocks.

The 12th of October, the journey, as the preceding day, was extremely diverſified by the variety of objects. They croſſed eight brooks, beautiful meadows, covered with herds of elks and buffaloes. To the right the view was unbounded, but to the left ſmall hills were ſeen at a diſtance, which from time to time preſented the appearance of ancient caſtles.

The 13th, on their march they ſaw the meadows covered almoſt entirely with buffaloes, elks and deer; ſo that one could ſcarce diſtinguiſh the different herds, ſo numerous

rous and ſo intermixed they were. The ſame day they paſſed through a wood almoſt two leagues long, and a pretty rough aſcent; a thing which ſeemed extraordinary, as till then they only met with little groves, the largeſt of which ſcarce contained an hundred trees, but ſtraight as a cane; groves too ſmall to afford a retreat to a quarter of the buffaloes and elks ſeen there.

The 14th the march was retarded by aſcents and deſcents; from which iſſued many ſprings of an extreme pure water, forming ſeveral brooks, whoſe waters uniting make little rivers that fall into the river of the Canzas: and doubtleſs it is this multitude of brooks which traverſe and water theſe meadows, extending a great way out of ſight, that invite thoſe numerous herds of buffaloes.

The 15th they croſſed ſeveral brooks and two little rivers. It is chiefly on the banks of the waters that we find thoſe enchanting groves, adorned with graſs underneath, and ſo clear of underwood, that we may there hunt down the ſtag with eaſe.

The 16th they continued to paſs over a ſimilar landſcape, the beauties of which were never cloying. Beſides the larger game, theſe groves afforded alſo a retreat to flocks of turkeys.

The 17th they made very little way, becauſe they wanted to get into the right road, from which they had ſtrayed the two preceding days, which they at length recovered; and, at a ſmall diſtance from their camp, ſaw an encampment of the Padoucas, which appeared to have been quitted only about eight days before. This yielded them ſo much the more pleaſure, as it ſhewed the nearneſs of that nation, which made them encamp, after having travelled only ſix leagues, in order to make ſignals from that place, by ſetting fire to the parts of the meadows which the general fire had ſpared. In a little time after the ſignal was anſwered in the ſame manner; and

confirmed by the arrival of two Frenchmen, who had orders given them to make the ſignals.

On the 18th they met a little river of brackiſh water; on the banks of which they found another encampment of the Padoucas, which appeared to have been abandoned but four days before: at half a league further on, a great ſmoke was ſeen to the weſt, at no great diſtance off, which was anſwered by ſetting fire to the parts of the meadows, untouched by the general fire.

About half an hour after, the Padoucas were obſerved coming at full gallop with the flag which Gaillard had left them on his firſt journey to their country. M. de Bourgmont inſtantly ordered the French under arms, and at the head of his people thrice ſaluted theſe ſtrangers with his flag, which they alſo returned thrice, by raiſing their mantles as many times over their heads.

After this firſt ceremony, M. de Bourgmont made them all ſit down and ſmoke in the Pipe of Peace. This action, being the ſeal of the peace, diffuſed a general joy, accompanied with loud acclamations.

The Padoucas, after mounting the French and the Indians who accompanied them, on their horſes, ſet out for their camp: and after a journey of three leagues, arrived at their encampment; but left a diſtance of a gun-ſhot between the two camps.

The day after their arrival at the Padoucas, M. de Bourgmont cauſed the goods allotted for this nation to be unpacked, and the different ſpecies parcelled out, which he made them all preſents of *.

After which M. de Bourgmont ſent for the Grand Chief and other Chiefs of the Padoucas, who came to the camp to the number of two hundred: and placing himſelf between

* Red and blue Limburgs, ſhirts, fuſils, ſabres, gun-powder, ball, muſket-flints, gunſcrews, mattocks, hatchets, looking-glaſſes, Flemiſh knives, wood cutters knives, claſp-knives, ſciſſars, combs, bells, awls, needles, drinking glaſſes, braſs-wire, boxes, rings, &c.

tween them and the goods thus parcelled and laid out to view, told them, he was ſent by his Sovereign to carry them the word of peace, this flag, and theſe goods, and to exhort them to live as brethren with their neighbours the Panimahas, Aïaouez, Othouez, Canzas, Miſſouris, Oſages, and Illinois, to traffick and truck freely together, and with the French.

He at the ſame time gave the flag to the Grand Chief of the Padoucas, who received it with demonſtrations of reſpect, and told him, I accept this flag, which you preſent to me on the part of your Sovereign: we rejoice at our having peace with all the nations you have mentioned; and promiſe in the name of our nation never to make war on any of your allies; but receive them, when they come among us, as our brethren; as we ſhall, in like manner, the French, and conduct them, when they want to go to the Spaniards, who are but twelve days journey from our village, and who truck with us in horſes, of which they have ſuch numbers, they know not what to do with them; alſo in bad hatchets of a ſoft iron, and ſome knives, whoſe points they break off, leſt we ſhould uſe them one day againſt themſelves. You may command all my Warriors; I can furniſh you with upwards of two thouſand. In my own, and in the name of my whole nation, I entreat you to ſend ſome Frenchmen to trade with us; we can ſupply them with horſes, which we truck with the Spaniards for buffalo-mantles, and with great quantities of furs.

Before I quit the Padoucas, I ſhall give a ſummary of their manners; it may not, perhaps, be diſagreeable to know in what reſpects they differ from other Indian nations *.

* The Author ſhould likewiſe have informed us of the fate of thoſe intended ſettlements of the French, which Dumont tells us were deſtroyed, and all the French murdered by the Indians, particularly among the Miſſouris; which is confirmed below in book II. ch. 7.

The Padoucas, who live at a diſtance from the Spaniards, cultivate no grain, and live only on hunting. But they are not to be conſidered as a wandering nation, tho' employed in hunting winter and ſummer; ſeeing they have large villages, conſiſting of a great number of cabins, which contain very numerous families: theſe are their permanent abodes; from which a hundred hunters ſet out at a time with their horſes, their bows, and a good ſtock of arrows. They go thus two or three days journey from home, where they find herds of buffaloes, the leaſt of which conſiſts of a hundred head. They load their horſes with their baggage, tents and children, conducted by a man on horſeback: by this means the men, women, and young people travel unencumbered and light, without being fatigued by the journey. When come to the hunting-ſpot, they encamp near a brook, where there is always wood; the horſes they tie by one of their fore-feet with a ſtring to a ſtake or buſh.

Next morning they each of them mount a horſe, and proceed to the firſt herd, with the wind at their back, to the end the buffaloes may ſcent them, and take to flight, which they never fail to do, becauſe they have a very quick ſcent. Then the hunters purſue them cloſe at an eaſy gallop, and in a creſcent, or half ring, till they hang out the tongue through fatigue, and can do no more than juſt walk: the hunters then diſmount, point a dart at the extremity of the ſhoulder, and kill each of them one cow, ſometimes more: for, as I ſaid above, they never kill the males. Then they flay them, take out the entrails, and cut the carcaſe in two; the head, feet, and entrails they leave to the wolves and other carnivorous animals: the ſkin they lay on the horſe, and on that the fleſh, which they carry home. Two days after they go out again; and then they bring home the meat ſtript from the bones; the women and young people dreſs it in the Indian faſhion; while the men return for ſome days longer to hunt in the ſame manner. They carry home their dry

proviſions,

proviſions, and let their horſes reſt for three or four days: at the end of which, thoſe who remained in the village, ſet out with the others to hunt in the like manner; which has made ignorant travellers affirm this people was a wandering nation.

If they ſow little or no maiz, they as little plant any citruls, never any tobacco; which laſt the Spaniards bring them in rolls, along with the horſes they truck with them for buffalo-mantles.

The nation of the Padoucas is very numerous, extends almoſt two hundred leagues, and they have villages quite cloſe to the Spaniards of New Mexico. They are acquainted with ſilver, and made the French underſtand they worked at the mines. The inhabitants of the villages at a diſtance from the Spaniards, have knives made of fire-ſtone, *(pierre de feu,)* of which they alſo make hatchets; the largeſt to fell middling and little trees with; the leſs, to flay and cut up the beaſts they kill.

Theſe people are far from being ſavage, nor would it be a difficult matter to civilize them; a plain proof they have had long intercourſe with the Spaniards. The few days the French ſtayed among them, they were become very familiar, and would fain have M. de Bourgmont leave ſome Frenchmen among them; eſpecially they of the village at which the peace was concluded with the other nations. This village conſiſted of an hundred and forty huts, containing about eight hundred warriors, fifteen hundred women, and at leaſt two thouſand children, ſome Padoucas having four wives. When they are in want of horſes, they train up great dogs to carry their baggage.

The men for the moſt part wear breeches and ſtockings all of a piece, made of dreſſed ſkins, in the manner of the Spaniards: the women alſo wear petticoats and bodices all of a piece, adorning their waiſts with fringes of dreſſed ſkins.

They

They are almoſt without any European goods among them, and have but a faint knowledge of them. They knew nothing of fire-arms before the arrival of M. de Bourgmont; were much frighted at them; and on hearing the report, quaked and bowed their heads.

They generally go to war on horſeback, and cover their horſes with dreſſed leather, hanging down quite round, which ſecures them from darts. All we have hitherto remarked is peculiar to this people, beſides the other uſages they have in common with the nations of Louiſiana.

On the 22d of October, M. de Bourgmont ſet out from the Padoucas, and travelled only five leagues that day: the 23d, and the three following days, he travelled in all forty leagues: the 27th, ſix leagues: the 28th, eight leagues: the 29th, ſix leagues; and the 30th, as many: the 31ſt, he travelled only four leagues, and that day arrived within half a league of the Canzas. From the Padoucas to the Canzas, proceeding always eaſt, we may now very ſafely reckon ſixty-five leagues and a half. The river of the Canzas is parallel to this route.

On the 1ſt of November they all arrived on the banks of the Miſſouri. M. de Bourgmont embarked the 2d on a canoe of ſkins; and at length, on the 5th of November, arrived at Fort Orleans.

I ſhall here ſubjoin the deſcription of one of theſe canoes. They chooſe for the purpoſe branches of a white and ſupple wood, ſuch as poplar; which are to form the ribs or curves, and are faſtened on the outſide with three poles, one at bottom and two on the ſides, to form the keel; to theſe curves two other ſtouter poles are afterwards made faſt, to form the gunnels; then they tighten theſe ſides with cords, the length of which is in proportion to the intended breadth of the canoe: after which they tie faſt the ends. When all the timbers are thus diſpoſed, they ſew on the ſkins, which they take care previouſly to ſoak a conſiderable time to render them manageable.

From

From the account of this journey, extracted and abridged from M. de Bourgmont's Journal, we cannot fail to obſerve the care and attention neceſſary to be employed in ſuch enterprizes; the prudence and policy requiſite to manage the natives, and to behave with them in an affable manner.

If we view theſe nations with an eye to commerce, what advantages might not be derived from them, as to furs? A commerce not only very lucrative, but capable of being carried on without any riſque; eſpecially if we would follow the plan I am to lay down under the article Commerce.

The relation of this journey ſhews, moreover, that Louiſiana maintains its good qualities throughout; and that the natives of North America derive their origin from the ſame country, ſince at bottom they all have the ſame manners and uſages, as alſo the ſame manner of ſpeaking and thinking.

I, however, except the Natchez, and the people they call their brethren, who have preſerved feſtivals and ceremonies, which clearly ſhew they have a far nobler origin. Beſides, the richneſs of their language diſtinguiſhes them from all thoſe other people that come from Tartary; whoſe language, on the contrary, is very barren: but if they reſemble the others in certain cuſtoms, they were conſtrained thereto from the ties of a common ſociety with them, as in their wars, embaſſies, and in every thing that regards the common intereſts of theſe nations.

Before I put an end to this chapter, I ſhall relate an extraordinary phænomenon which appeared in Louiſiana.

Towards the end of May 1726, the ſun was then concealed for a whole day by large clouds, but very diſtinct one from another; they left but little void ſpace between, to permit the view of the azure ſky, and but in very few places: the whole day was very calm; in the evening eſpecially

eſpecially theſe clouds were entirely joined; no ſky was to be ſeen; but all the different configurations of the clouds were diſtinguiſhable: I obſerved they ſtood very high above the earth.

The weather being ſo diſpoſed, the ſun was preparing to ſet. I ſaw him in the inſtant he touched the horizon, becauſe there was a little clear ſpace between that and the clouds. A little after, theſe clouds turned luminous, or reflected the light: the contour or outlines of moſt of them ſeemed to be bordered with gold, others but with a faint tincture thereof. It would be a very difficult matter to deſcribe all the beauties which theſe different colourings preſented to the view: but the whole together formed the fineſt proſpect I ever beheld of the kind.

I had my face turned to the eaſt; and in the little time the ſun formed this decoration, he proceeded to hide himſelf more and more; when ſufficiently low, ſo that the ſhadow of the earth could appear on the convexity of the clouds, there was obſerved as if a veil, ſtretched from north to ſouth, had concealed or removed the light from off that part of the clouds which extended eaſtwards, and made them dark, without hindering their being perfectly well diſtinguiſhed; ſo that all on the ſame line were partly luminous, partly dark.

This very year I had a ſtrong inclination to quit the poſt at the Natchez, where I had continued for eight years. I had taken that reſolution, notwithſtanding my attachment to that ſettlement. I ſold off my effects and went down to New Orleans, which I found greatly altered by being entirely built. I intended to return to Europe; but M. Perier, the Governor, preſſed me ſo much, that I accepted the inſpection of the plantation of the Company; which, in a little time after, became the King's.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

The War with the Chitimachas. *The Conſpiracy of the Negroes againſt the* French. *Their Execution.*

BEFORE my arrival in Louiſiana, we happened to be at war with the nation of the Chitimachas; owing to one of that people, who being gone to dwell in a bye-place on the banks of the Miſſiſippi, had aſſaſſinated M. de St. Come, a Miſſionary of that colony; who, in going down the river, imagined he might in ſafety retire into this man's hut for a night. M. de Biainville charged the whole nation with this aſſaſſination; and in order to ſave his own people, cauſed them to be attacked by ſeveral nations in alliance with the French.

Proweſs is none of the greateſt qualities of the Indians, much leſs of the Chitimachas. They were therefore worſted, and the loſs of their braveſt warriors conſtrained them to ſue for peace. This the Governor granted, on condition that they brought him the head of the aſſaſſin; which they accordingly did, and concluded a peace by the ceremony of the Calumet, hereafter deſcribed.

At the time the ſuccours were expected from France, in order to deſtroy the Natchez, the negroes formed a deſign to rid themſelves of all the French at once, and to ſettle in their room, by making themſelves maſters of the capital, and of all the property of the French. It was diſcovered in the following manner.

A female negroe receiving a violent blow from a French ſoldier for refuſing to obey him, ſaid in her paſſion, that the French ſhould not long inſult negroes. Some Frenchmen overhearing theſe threats, brought her before the Governor, who ſent her to priſon. The Judge Criminal not being able to draw any thing out of her, I told the Governor, who ſeemed to pay no great regard to her threats, that I was of opinion, that a man in liquor, and

a woman

a woman in paſſion, generally ſpeak truth. It is therefore highly probable, ſaid I, that there is ſome truth in what ſhe ſaid: and if ſo, there muſt be ſome conſpiracy ready to break out, which cannot be formed without many negroes of the King's plantation being accomplices therein: and if there are any, I take upon me, ſaid I, to find them out, and arreſt them, if neceſſary, without any diſorder or tumult.

The Governor and the whole Court approved of my reaſons: I went that very evening to the camp of the negroes, and from hut to hut, till I ſaw a light. In this hut I heard them talking together of their ſcheme. One of them was my firſt commander and my confidant, which ſurprized me greatly; his name was Samba.

I ſpeedily retired for fear of being diſcovered; and in two days after, eight negroes, who were at the head of the conſpiracy, were ſeparately arreſted, unknown to each other, and clapt in irons without the leaſt tumult.

The day after, they were put to the torture of burning matches; which, though ſeveral times repeated, could not bring them to make any confeſſion. In the mean time I learnt that Samba had in his own country been at the head of the revolt by which the French loſt Fort Arguin; and when it was recovered again by M. Perier de Salvert, one of the principal articles of the peace was, that this negro ſhould be condemned to ſlavery in America: that Samba, on his paſſage, had laid a ſcheme to murder the crew, in order to become maſter of the ſhip; but that being diſcovered, he was put in irons, in which he continued till he landed in Louiſiana.

I drew up a memorial of all this; which was read before Samba by the Judge Criminal; who, threatening him again with the torture, told him, he had ever been a ſeditious fellow: upon which Samba directly owned all the circumſtances of the conſpiracy; and the reſt being confronted

fronted with him, confeſſed alſo: after which, the eight negroes were condemned to be broke alive on the wheel, and the woman to be hanged before their eyes; which was accordingly done, and prevented the conſpiracy from taking effect.

CHAP. XII.

The War of the Natchez. *Maſſacre of the* French *in* 1729. *Extirpation of the* Natchez *in* 1730.

IN the beginning of the month of December 1729, we heard at New Orleans, with the moſt affecting grief, of the maſſacre of the French at the poſt of the Natchez, occaſioned by the imprudent conduct of the Commandant. I ſhall trace that whole affair from its riſe.

The Sieur de Chopart had been Commandant of the poſt of the Natchez, from which he was removed on account of ſome acts of injuſtice. M. Perier, Commandant General, but lately arrived, ſuffered himſelf to be prepoſſeſſed in his favour, on his telling him, that he had commanded that poſt with applauſe: and thus he obtained the command from M. Perier, who was unacquainted with his character.

This new Commandant, on taking poſſeſſion of his poſt, projected the forming one of the moſt eminent ſettlements of the whole colony. For this purpoſe he examined all the grounds unoccupied by the French, but could not find any thing that came up to the grandeur of his views. Nothing but the village of the White Apple, a ſquare league at leaſt in extent, could give him ſatisfaction; where he immediately reſolved to ſettle. This ground was diſtant from the fort about two leagues. Conceited with the beauty of his project, the Commandant ſent for the Sun of that village to come to the fort.

The

The Commandant, upon his arrival at the fort, told him, without further ceremony, that he muſt look out for another ground to build his village on, as he himſelf reſolved, as ſoon as poſſible, to build on the village of the Apple; that he muſt directly clear the huts, and retire ſomewhere elſe. The better to cover his deſign, he gave out, that it was neceſſary for the French to ſettle on the banks of the rivulet, where ſtood the Great Village, and the abode of the Grand Sun. The Commandant, doubtleſs, ſuppoſed that he was ſpeaking to a ſlave, whom we may command in a tone of abſolute authority. But he knew not that the natives of Louiſiana are ſuch enemies to a ſtate of ſlavery, that they prefer death itſelf thereto; above all, the Suns, accuſtomed to govern deſpotically, have ſtill a greater averſion to it.

The Sun of the Apple thought, that if he was talked to in a reaſonable manner, he might liſten to him: in this he had been right, had he to deal with a reaſonable perſon. He therefore made anſwer, that his anceſtors had lived in that village for as many years as there were hairs in his double cue; and therefore it was good they ſhould continue there ſtill.

Scarce had the interpreter explained this anſwer to the Commandant, but he fell into a paſſion, and threatned the Sun, if he did not quit his village in a few days, he might repent it. The Sun replied, when the French came to aſk us for lands to ſettle on, they told us there was land enough ſtill unoccupied, which they might take; the ſame ſun would enlighten them all, and all would walk in the ſame path. He wanted to proceed farther in juſtification of what he alleged; but the Commandant, who was in a paſſion, told him, he was reſolved to be obeyed, without any further reply. The Sun, without diſcovering any emotion or paſſion, withdrew; only ſaying, he was going to aſſemble the old men of his village, to hold a council on this affair.

He

He actually aſſembled them: and in this council it was reſolved to repreſent to the Commandant, that the corn of all the people of their village was already ſhot a little out of the earth, and that all the hens were laying their eggs; that if they quitted their village at preſent, the chickens and corn would be loſt both to the French and to themſelves; as the French were not numerous enough to weed all the corn they had ſown in their fields.

This reſolution taken, they ſent to propoſe it to the Commandant, who rejected it with a menace to chaſtiſe them if they did not obey in a very ſhort time, which he prefixed.

The Sun reported this anſwer to his council, who debated the queſtion, which was knotty. But the policy of the old men was, that they ſhould propoſe to the Commandant, to be allowed to ſtay in their village till harveſt, and till they had time to dry their corn, and ſhake out the grain; on condition each hut of the village ſhould pay him in ſo many moons (months,) which they agreed on, a baſket of corn and a fowl; that this Commandant appeared to be a man highly ſelf-intereſted; and that this propoſition would be a means of gaining time, till they ſhould take proper meaſures to withdraw themſelves from the tyranny of the French.

The Sun returned to the Commandant, and propoſed to pay him the tribute I juſt mentioned, if he waited till the firſt colds, (winter;) that then the corn would be gathered in, and dry enough to ſhake out the grain; that thus they would not be expoſed to loſe their corn, and die of hunger: that the Commandant himſelf would find his account in it; and that as ſoon as any corn was ſhaken out, they ſhould bring him ſome.

The avidity of the Commandant made him accept the propoſition with joy, and blinded him with regard to the conſequences of his tyranny. He, however, pretended that he agreed to the offer out of favour, to do a pleaſure

to a nation ſo beloved, and who had ever been good friends of the French. The Sun appeared highly ſatisfied to have obtained a delay ſufficient for taking the precautions neceſſary to the ſecurity of the nation; for he was by no means the dupe of the feigned benevolence of the Commandant.

The Sun, upon his return, cauſed the council to be aſſembled; told the old men, that the French Commandant had acquieſced in the offers which he had made him, and granted the term of time they demanded. He then laid before them, that it was neceſſary wiſely to avail themſelves of this time, in order to withdraw themſelves from the propoſed payment and tyrannic domination of the French, who grew dangerous in proportion as they multiplied. That the Natchez ought to remember the war made upon them, in violation of the peace concluded between them: that this war having been made upon their village alone, they ought to conſider of the ſureſt means to take a juſt and bloody vengeance: that this enterprize being of the utmoſt conſequence, it called for much ſecrecy, for ſolid meaſures, and for much policy: that thus it was proper to cajole the French Chief more than ever: that this affair required ſome days to reflect on, before they came to a reſolution therein, and before it ſhould be propoſed to the Grand Sun and his council: that at preſent they had only to retire; and in a few days he would aſſemble them again, that they might then determine the part they were to act.

In five or ſix days he brought together the old men, who in that interval were conſulting with each other: which was the reaſon that all the ſuffrages were unanimous in the ſame and only means of obtaining the end they propoſed to themſelves, which was the entire deſtruction of the French in this province.

The Sun, ſeeing them all aſſembled, ſaid: "You "have had time to reflect on the propoſition I made you;

" and ſo I imagine you will ſoon ſet forth the beſt means " how to get rid of your bad neighbours without hazard." The Sun having done ſpeaking, the oldeſt roſe up, ſaluted his Chief after his manner, and ſaid to him :

" We have a long time been ſenſible that the neigh- " bourhood of the French is a greater prejudice than " benefit to us : we, who are old men, ſee this ; the " young ſee it not. The wares of the French yield " pleaſure to the youth ; but in effect, to what purpoſe is " all this, but to debauch the young women, and taint " the blood of the nation, and make them vain and idle ? " The young men are in the ſame caſe ; and the married " muſt work themſelves to death to maintain their fami- " lies, and pleaſe their children. Before the French " came amongſt us, we were men, content with what " we had, and that was ſufficient : we walked with bold- " neſs every road, becauſe we were then our own maſters : " but now we go groping, afraid of meeting thorns, we " walk like ſlaves, which we ſhall ſoon be, ſince the " French already treat us as if we were ſuch. When " they are ſufficiently ſtrong, they will no longer diſ- " ſemble. For the leaſt fault of our young people, " they will tie them to a poſt, and whip them as they " do their black ſlaves. Have they not already done ſo " to one of our young men ; and is not death preferable " to ſlavery ?"

Here he pauſed a while, and after taking breath, proceeded thus :

" What wait we for ? Shall we ſuffer the French to " multiply, till we are no longer in a condition to oppoſe " their efforts ? What will the other nations ſay of us, " who paſs for the moſt ingenious of all the Red-men ? " They will then ſay, we have leſs underſtanding than " other people. Why then wait we any longer ? Let us " ſet ourſelves at liberty, and ſhow we are really men, " who can be ſatisfied with what we have. From

" this very day let us begin to ſet about it, order our " women to get proviſions ready, without telling them " the reaſon; go and carry the Pipe of Peace to all the " nations of this country; make them ſenſible, that the " French being ſtronger in our neighbourhood than elſe- " where, make us, more than others, feel that they want " to enſlave us; and when become ſufficiently ſtrong, " will in like manner treat all the nations of the coun- " try; that it is their intereſt to prevent ſo great a miſ- " fortune; and for this purpoſe they have only to join us, " and cut off the French to a man, in one day and one " hour; and the time to be that on which the term pre- " fixed and obtained of the French Commandant, to " carry him the contribution agreed on, is expired; the " hour to be the quarter of the day (nine in the morn- " ing;) and then ſeveral warriors to go and carry him the " corn, as the beginning of their ſeveral payments, alſo " carry with them their arms, as if going out to hunt: " and that to every Frenchman in a French houſe, " there ſhall be two or three Natchez; to aſk to borrow " arms and ammunition for a general hunting-match, on " account of a great feaſt, and to promiſe to bring them " meat; the report of the firing at the Commandant's, " to be the ſignal to fall at once upon, and kill the " French: that then we ſhall be able to prevent thoſe " who may come from the old French village, (New " Orleans) by the great water (Miſſiſippi) ever to ſettle " here."

He added, that after appriſing the other nations of the neceſſity of taking that violent ſtep, a bundle of rods, in number equal to that they ſhould reſerve for themſelves, ſhould be left with each nation, expreſſive of the number of days that were to precede that on which they were to ſtrike the blow at one and the ſame time. And to avoid miſtakes, and to be exact in pulling out a rod every day, and breaking and throwing it away, it was neceſſary to give this in charge to a perſon of prudence. Here he ceaſed

ceaſed and ſat down: they all approved his counſel, and were to a man of his mind.

The project was in like manner approved of by the Sun of the Apple: the buſineſs was to bring over the Grand Sun, with the other petty Suns, to their opinion; becauſe all the Princes being agreed as to that point, the nation would all to a man implicitly obey. They however took the precaution to forbid appriſing the women thereof, not excepting the female Suns, (Princeſſes) or giving them the leaſt ſuſpicion of their deſigns againſt the French.

The Sun of the Apple was a man of good abilities; by which means he eaſily brought over the Grand Sun to favour his ſcheme, he being a young man of no experience in the world, and having no great correſpondence with the French: he was the more eaſily gained over, as all the Suns were agreed, that the Sun of the Apple was a man of ſolidity and penetration; who having repaired to the Sovereign of the nation, appriſed him of the neceſſity of taking that ſtep, as in time himſelf would be forced to quit his own village; alſo of the wiſdom of the meaſures concerted, ſuch as even aſcertained ſucceſs; and of the danger to which his youth was expoſed with neighbours ſo enterpriſing; above all, with the preſent French Commandant, of whom the inhabitants, and even the ſoldiers complained: that as long as the Grand Sun, his father, and his uncle, the Stung Serpent, lived, the Commandant of the fort durſt never undertake any thing to their detriment; becauſe the Grand Chief of the French, who reſides at their great village (New Orleans,) had a love for them: but that he, the Grand Sun, being unknown to the French, and but a youth, would be deſpiſed. In fine, that the only means to preſerve his authority, was to rid himſelf of the French, by the method, and with the precautions projected by the old men.

The reſult of this converſation was, that on the day following, when the Suns ſhould in the morning come to ſalute the Grand Sun, he was to order them to repair to the Sun of the Apple, without taking notice of it to any one. This was accordingly executed, and the ſeducing abilities of the Sun of the Apple drew all the Suns into his ſcheme. In conſequence of which they formed a council of Suns and aged Nobles, who all approved of the deſign: and then theſe aged Nobles were nominated heads of embaſſies to be ſent to the ſeveral nations; had a guard of Warriors to accompany them, and on pain of death, were diſcharged from mentioning it to any one whatever. This reſolution taken, they ſet out ſeverally at the ſame time, unknown to the French.

Notwithſtanding the profound ſecrecy obſerved by the Natchez, the council held by the Suns and aged Nobles gave the people uneaſineſs, unable as they were to penetrate into the matter. The female Suns (Princeſſes) had alone in this nation a right to demand why they were kept in the dark in this affair. The young Grand female Sun was a Princeſs ſcarce eighteen: and none but the Stung Arm, a woman of great wit, and no leſs ſenſible of it, could be offended that nothing was diſcloſed to her. In effect, ſhe teſtified her diſpleaſure at this reſerve with reſpect to herſelf, to her ſon; who replied, that the ſeveral deputations were made, in order to renew their good intelligence with the other nations, to whom they had not of a long time ſent an embaſſy, and who might imagine themſelves ſlighted by ſuch a neglect. This feigned excuſe ſeemed to appeaſe the Princeſs, but not quite to rid her of all her uneaſineſs; which, on the contrary, was heightened, when, on the return of the embaſſies, ſhe ſaw the Suns aſſemble in ſecret council together with the deputies, to learn what reception they met with; whereas ordinarily they aſſembled in public.

At this the female Sun was filled with rage, which would have openly broke out, had not her prudence ſet bounds

bounds to it. Happy it was for the French, ſhe imagined herſelf neglected: for I am perſuaded the colony owes its preſervation to the vexation of this woman rather than to any remains of affection ſhe entertained for the French, as ſhe was now far advanced in years, and her gallant dead ſome time.

In order to get to the bottom of the ſecret, ſhe prevailed on her ſon to accompany her on a viſit to a relation, that lay ſick at the village of the Meal; and leading him the longeſt way about, and moſt retired, took occaſion to reproach him with the ſecrecy he and the other Suns obſerved with regard to her, inſiſting with him on her right as a mother, and her privilege as a Princeſs: adding, that though all the world, and herſelf too, had told him he was the ſon of a Frenchman, yet her own blood was much dearer to her than that of ſtrangers; that he needed not apprehend ſhe would ever betray him to the French, againſt whom, ſhe ſaid, you are plotting.

Her ſon, ſtung with theſe reproaches, told her, it was unuſual to reveal what the old men of the council had once reſolved upon; alledging, he himſelf, as being Grand Sun, ought to ſet a good example in this reſpect: that the affair was concealed from the Princeſs his conſort as well as from her; and that though he was the ſon of a Frenchman, this gave no miſtruſt of him to the other Suns. But ſeeing, ſays he, you have gueſſed the whole affair, I need not inform you farther; you know as much as I do myſelf, only hold your tongue.

She was in no pain, ſhe replied, to know againſt whom he had taken his precautions: but as it was againſt the French, this was the very thing that made her apprehenſive he had not taken his meaſures aright in order to ſurprize them; as they were a people of great penetration, though their Commandant had none: that they were brave, and could bring over by their preſents, all the War-

riors of the other nations; and had reſources, which the Red-men were without.

Her ſon told her ſhe had nothing to apprehend as to the meaſures taken: that all the nations had heard and approved their project, and promiſed to fall upon the French in their neighbourhood, on the ſame day with the Natchez: that the Chactaws took upon them to deſtroy all the French lower down and along the Miſſiſippi, up as far as the Tonicas; to which laſt people, he ſaid, we did not ſend, as they and the Oumas are too much wedded to the French; and that it was better to involve both theſe nations in the ſame general deſtruction with the French. He at laſt told her, the bundle of rods lay in the temple, on the flat timber.

The Stung Arm being informed of the whole deſign, pretended to approve of it, and leaving her ſon at eaſe, henceforward was only ſolicitous how ſhe might defeat this barbarous deſign: the time was preſſing, and the term prefixed for the execution was almoſt expired.

This woman, unable to bear to ſee the French cut off to a man in one day by the conſpiracy of the natives, ſought how to ſave the greateſt part of them: for this purpoſe ſhe bethought herſelf of acquainting ſome young women therewith, who loved the French, enjoining them never to tell from whom they had their information.

She herſelf deſired a ſoldier ſhe met, to go and tell the Commandant, that the Natchez had loſt their ſenſes, and to deſire him to be upon his guard: that he need only make the ſmalleſt repairs poſſible on the fort, in preſence of ſome of them, in order to ſhew his miſtruſt; when all their reſolutions and bad deſigns would vaniſh and fall to the ground.

The ſoldier faithfully performed his commiſſion: but the Commandant, far from giving credit to the information, or availing himſelf thereof; or diving into, and inform-

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ing himſelf of the grounds of it, treated the ſoldier as a coward and a viſionary, cauſed him to be clapt in irons, and ſaid, he would never take any ſtep towards repairing the fort, or putting himſelf on his guard, as the Natchez would then imagine he was a man of no reſolution, and was ſtruck with a mere panick.

The Stung Arm fearing a diſcovery, notwithſtanding her utmoſt precaution, and the ſecrecy ſhe enjoined, repaired to the temple, and pulled ſome rods out of the fatal bundle: her deſign was to haſten or forward the term prefixed, to the end that ſuch Frenchmen as eſcaped the maſſacre, might apprize their countrymen, many of whom had informed the Commandant; who clapt ſeven of them in irons, treating them as cowards on that account.

The female Sun, ſeeing the term approaching, and many of thoſe puniſhed, whom ſhe had charged to acquaint the Governor, reſolved to ſpeak to the Under-Lieutenant; but to no better purpoſe, the Commandant paying no greater regard to him than to the common ſoldiers.

Notwithſtanding all theſe informations, the Commandant went out the night before on a party of pleaſure, with ſome other Frenchmen, to the grand village of the Natchez, without returning to the fort till break of day; where he was no ſooner come, but he had preſſing advice to be upon his guard.

The Commandant, ſtill fluſtered with his laſt night's debauch, added imprudence to his neglect of theſe laſt advices; and ordered his interpreter inſtantly to repair to the grand village, and demand of the Grand Sun, whether he intended, at the head of his Warriors, to come and kill the French, and to bring him word directly. The Grand Sun, though but a young man, knew how to diſſemble, and ſpoke in ſuch a manner to the interpreter,

preter, as to give full ſatisfaction to the Commandant, who valued himſelf on his contempt of former advices: he then repaired to his houſe, ſituate below the fort.

The Natchez had too well taken their meaſures to be diſappointed in the ſucceſs thereof. The fatal moment was at laſt come. The Natchez ſet out on the Eve of St. Andrew, 1729, taking care to bring with them one of the lower ſort, armed with a wooden hatchet, in order to knock down the Commandant *: they had ſo high a contempt for him, that no Warrior would deign to kill him. The houſes of the French filled with enemies, the fort in like manner with the natives, who entered in at the gate and breaches, deprived the ſoldiers, without officers, or even a ſerjeant at their head, of the means of ſelf-defence. In the mean time the Grand Sun arrived, with ſome Warriors loaded with corn, in appearance as the firſt payment of the contribution; when ſeveral ſhot were fired. As this firing was the ſignal, ſeveral ſhot were heard at the ſame inſtant. Then at length the Commandant ſaw, but too late, his folly: he ran into his garden, whither he was purſued and killed. This maſſacre was executed every where at the ſame time. Of about ſeven hundred perſons, but few eſcaped to carry the dreadful news to the capital; on receiving which the Governor and Council were ſenſibly affected, and orders were diſpatched every where to put people on their guard.

The other Indians were diſpleaſed at the conduct of the Natchez, imagining they had forwarded the term agreed on, in order to make them ridiculous, and propoſed to take vengeance the firſt opportunity, not knowing the true cauſe of the precipitation of the Natchez.

After

* Others ſay he was ſhot: but neither account can be aſcertained, as no Frenchman preſent eſcaped.

After they had cleared the fort, warehouſe, and other houſes, the Natchez ſet them all on fire, not leaving a ſingle building ſtanding.

The Yazous, who happened to be at that very time on an embaſſy to the Natchez, were prevailed on to deſtroy the poſt of the Yazous; which they failed not to effect ſome days after, making themſelves maſters of the fort, under colour of paying a viſit, as uſual, and knocking all the garriſon on the head.

M. Perier, Governor of Louiſiana, was then taking the proper ſteps to be avenged: he ſent M. le Sueur to the Chactaws, to engage them on our ſide againſt the Natchez; in which he ſucceeded without any difficulty. The reaſon of their readineſs to enter into this deſign was not then underſtood, it being unknown that they were concerned in the plot of the Natchez to deſtroy all the French, and that it was only to be avenged of the Natchez, who had taken the ſtart of them, and not given them a ſufficient ſhare of the booty.

M. de Loubois, king's lieutenant, was nominated to be at the head of this expedition: he went up the river with a ſmall army, and arrived at the Tonicas. The Chactaws at length arrived in the month of February near the Natchez, to the number of fifteen or ſixteen hundred men, with M. le Sueur at their head; whither M. de Loubois came the March following.

The army encamped near the ruins of the old French ſettlement; and after reſting five days there, they marched to the enemy's fort, which was a league from thence.

After opening the trenches and firing for ſeveral days upon the fort without any great effect, the French at laſt made their approach ſo near as to frighten the enemy, who ſent to offer to releaſe all the French women and children, on the condition of obtaining a laſting peace, and of being ſuffered to live peaceably on their ground, without being driven from thence, or moleſted for the future.

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M. de Loubois aſſured them of peace on their own terms, if they alſo gave up the French, who were in the fort, and all the negroes they had taken belonging to the French; and if they agreed to deſtroy the fort by fire. The Grand Sun accepted theſe conditions, provided the French general ſhould promiſe, he would neither enter the fort with the French, nor ſuffer their auxiliaries to enter; which was accepted by the general; who ſent the allies to receive all the ſlaves.

The Natchez, highly pleaſed to have gained time, availed themſelves of the following night, and went out of the fort, with their wives and children, loaded with their baggage and the French plunder, leaving nothing but the cannon and ball behind.

M. de Loubois was ſtruck with amazement at this eſcape, and only thought of retreating to the landing-place, in order to build a fort there: but firſt it was neceſſary to recover the French out of the hands of the Chactaws, who inſiſted on a very high ranſom. The matter was compromiſed by means of the grand chief of the Tonicas, who prevailed on them to accept what M. de Loubois was conſtrained to offer them, to ſatisfy their avarice; which they accordingly accepted, and gave up the French ſlaves, on promiſe of being paid as ſoon as poſſible: but they kept as ſecurity a young Frenchman and ſome negro ſlaves, whom they would never part with, till payment was made.

M. de Loubois gave orders to build a terrace-fort, far preferable to a ſtoccado; there he left M. du Crenet, with an hundred and twenty men in garriſon, with cannon and ammunition; after which he went down the Miſſiſippi to New Orleans. The Chactaws, Tonicas, and other allies, returned home.

After the Natchez had abandoned the fort, it was demoliſhed, and its piles, or ſtakes, burnt. As the Natchez dreaded both the vengeance of the French, and the inſo-

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lence of the Chactaws, that made them take the reſolution of eſcaping in the night.

A ſhort time after, a conſiderable party of the Natchez carried the Pipe of Peace to the Grand Chief of the Tonicas, under pretence of concluding a peace with him and all the French. The Chief ſent to M. Perier to know his pleaſure: but the Natchez in the mean time aſſaſſinated the Tonicas, beginning with their Grand Chief; and few of them eſcaped this treachery.

M. Perier, Commandant General, zealous for the ſervice, neglected no means, whereby to diſcover in what part the Natchez had taken refuge. And after many enquiries he was told, they had entirely quitted the Eaſt ſide of the Miſſiſippi, doubtleſs to avoid the troubleſome and dangerous viſits of the Chactaws; and in order to be more concealed from the French, had retired to the Weſt of the Miſſiſippi, near the Silver Creek, about ſixty leagues from the mouth of the Red River.

Theſe advices were certain: but the Commandant General not thinking himſelf in a condition fit to attack them without ſuccours, had applied for that purpoſe to the Court; and ſuccours were accordingly ſent him.

In the mean time the Company, who had been apprized of the misfortune at the Poſt of the Natchez, and the loſſes they had ſuſtained by the war, gave up that Colony to the King, with the privileges annexed thereto. The Company at the ſame time ceded to the King all that belonged to them in that Colony, as fortreſſes, artillery, ammunition, warehouſes, and plantations, with the negroes belonging thereto. In conſequence of which, his Majeſty ſent one of his ſhips, commanded by M. de Forant, who brought with him M. de Salmont, Commiſſary-General of the Marine, and Inſpector of Louiſiana, in order to take poſſeſſion of that Colony in the King's name.

I was

I was continued in the inſpection of this plantation, now become the King's in 1730, as before.

M. Perier, who till then had been Commandant General of Louiſiana for the Weſt India Company, was now made Governor for the King; and had the ſatisfaction to ſee his brother arrive, in one of the King's ſhips, commanded by M. Perier de Salvert, with the ſuccours he demanded, which were an hundred and fifty ſoldiers of the marine. This Officer had the title of Lieutenant General of the Colony conferred upon him.

The Meſſrs. Perier, ſet out with their army in very favourable weather; and arrived at laſt, without obſtruction, near to the retreat of the Natchez. To get to that place, they went up the Red River, then the Black River, and from thence up the Silver Creek, which communicates with a ſmall Lake at no great diſtance from the fort, which the Natchez had built, in order to maintain their ground againſt the French.

The Natchez, ſtruck with terror at the ſight of a vigilant enemy, ſhut themſelves up in their fort. Deſpair aſſumed the place of prudence, and they were at their wits end, on ſeeing the trenches gain ground on the fort: they equip themſelves like warriors, and ſtain their bodies with different colours, in order to make their laſt efforts by a ſally, which reſembled a tranſport of rage more than the calmneſs of valour, to the terror, at firſt, of the ſoldiers.

The reception they met from our men, taught them, however, to keep themſelves ſhut up in their fort; and though the trench was almoſt finiſhed, our Generals were impatient to have the mortars put in a condition to play on the place. At laſt they are ſet in battery; when the third bomb happened to fall in the middle of the fort, the uſual place of reſidence of the women and children, they ſet up a horrible ſcreaming; and the men, ſeized with grief

grief at the cries of their wives and children, made the ſignal to capitulate.

The Natchez, after demanding to capitulate, ſtarted difficulties, which occaſioned meſſages to and fro till night, which they waited to avail themſelves of, demanding till next day to ſettle the articles of capitulation. The night was granted them, but being narrowly watched on the ſide next the gate, they could not execute the ſame project of eſcape, as in the war with M. de Loubois. However, they attempted it, by taking advantage of the obſcurity of the night, and of the apparent ſtillneſs of the French: but they were diſcovered in time, the greateſt part being conſtrained to retire into the fort. Some of them only happened to eſcape, who joined thoſe that were out a hunting, and all together retired to the Chicaſaws. The reſt ſurrendered at diſcretion, among whom was the Grand Sun, and the female Suns, with ſeveral warriors, many women, young people, and children.

The French army re-embarked, and carried the Natchez as ſlaves to New Orleans, where they were put in priſon; but afterwards, to avoid an infection, the women and children were diſpoſed of in the King's plantation, and elſewhere; among theſe women was the female Sun, called the Stung Arm, who then told me all ſhe had done, in order to ſave the French.

Some time after, theſe ſlaves were embarked for St. Domingo, in order to root out that nation in the Colony; which was the only method of effecting it, as the few that eſcaped had not a tenth of the women neceſſary to recruit the nation. And thus that nation, the moſt conſpicuous in the Colony, and moſt uſeful to the French, was deſtroyed.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The War with the Chicaſaws. *The firſt Expedition by the river* Mobile. *The ſecond by the* Miſſiſippi. *The War with the* Chactaws *terminated by the prudence of* M. de Vaudreuil.

THE War with the Chicaſaws was owing to their having received and adopted the Natchez: though in this reſpect they acted only according to an inviolable uſage and ſacred cuſtom, eſtabliſhed among all the nations of North America; that when a nation, weakened by war, retires for ſhelter to another, who are willing to adopt them, and is purſued thither by their enemies, this is in effect to declare war againſt the nation adopting.

But M. de Biainville, whether diſpleaſed with this act of hoſpitality, or loſing ſight of this unalterable law, conſtantly prevailing among thoſe nations, ſent word to the Chicaſaws, to give up the Natchez. In anſwer to his demand they alledged, that the Natchez having demanded to be incorporated with them, were accordingly received and adopted; ſo as now to conſtitute but one nation, or people, under the name of Chicaſaws, that of Natchez being entirely aboliſhed. Beſides, added they, had Biainville received our enemies, ſhould we go to demand them? or, if we did, would they be given up?

Notwithſtanding this anſwer, M. de Biainville made warlike preparations againſt the Chicaſaws, ſent off Captain le Blanc, with ſix armed boats under his command; one laden with gun-powder, the reſt with goods, the whole allotted for the war againſt the Chicaſaws; the Captain at the ſame time carrying orders to M. d'Artaguette, Commandant of the Poſt of the Illinois, to prepare to ſet out at the head of all the troops, inhabitants and Indians, he could march from the Illinois, in order to be at the Chicaſaws the 10th of May following, as the Governor himſelf was to be there at the ſame time.

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The Chicaſaws, apprized of the warlike preparations of the French, reſolved to guard the Miſſiſippi, imagining they would be attacked on that ſide. In vain they attempted to ſurprize M. le Blanc's convoy, which got ſafe to the Arkanſas, where the gun-powder was left, for reaſons no one can ſurmiſe.

From thence he had no croſs accident to the Illinois, at which place he delivered the orders the Governor had diſpatched for M. d'Artaguette; who finding a boat laden with gun-powder, deſigned for his poſt, and for the ſervice of the war intended againſt the Chicaſaws, left at the Arkanſas, ſent off the ſame day a boat to fetch it up; which on its return was taken by a party of Chicaſaws; who killed all but M. du Tiſſenet, junior, and one Roſalie, whom they made ſlaves.

In the mean time, M. de Biainville went by ſea to Fort Mobile, where the Grand Chief of the Chactaws waited for him, in conſequence of his engaging to join his Warriours with ours, in order to make war upon the Chicaſaws, in conſideration of a certain quantity of goods, part to be paid down directly, the reſt at a certain time prefixed. The Governor, after this, returned to New Orleans, there to wait the opening of the campaign.

M. de Biainville, on his return, made preparations againſt his own departure, and that of the army, conſiſting of regular troops, ſome inhabitants and free negroes, and ſome ſlaves, all which ſet out from New Orleans for Mobile; where, on the 10th of March, 1736, the army, together with the Chactaws, was aſſembled; and where they reſted till the 2d of April, when they began their march, thoſe from New Orleans taking their route by the river Mobile, in thirty large boats and as many pettyaugres; the Indians by land, marching along the eaſt bank of that river; and making but ſhort marches, they arrived at Tombecbec only the 20th of April, where M. de Biainville cauſed a fort to be built: here he gave the Chactaws the reſt of the goods due

to them, and did not ſet out from thence till the 4th of May. All this time was taken up with a Council of War, held on four ſoldiers, French and Swiſs, who had laid a ſcheme to kill the Commandant and garriſon, to carry off M. du Tiſſenet and Roſalie, who had happily made their eſcape from the Chicaſaws, and taken refuge in the fort, and to put them again into the hands of the enemy, in order to be better received by them, and to aſſiſt, and ſhew them how to make a proper defence againſt the French, and from thence to go over to the Engliſh of Carolina.

From the 4th of May, on which the army ſet out from Tombecbec, they took twenty days to come to the landing-place. After landing, they built a very extenſive incloſure of paliſadoes, with a ſhed, as a cover for the goods and ammunition. then the army paſſed the night. On the 25th powder and ball were given out to the ſoldiers, and inhabitants, the ſick with ſome raw ſoldiers being left to guard this old ſort of fort.

From this place to the fort of the Chicaſaws are ſeven leagues: this day they marched five leagues and a half in two columns and in file, acroſs woods. On the wings marched the Chactaws, to the number of twelve hundred at leaſt, commanded by their Grand Chief. In the evening they encamped in a meadow, ſurrounded with wood.

On the 26th of May they marched to the enemy's fort, acroſs thin woods; and with water up to the waiſt, paſſed over a rivulet, which traverſes a ſmall wood; on coming out of which, they entered a fine plain: in this plain ſtood the fort of the Chicaſaws, with a village defended by it. This fort is ſituated on an eminence, with an eaſy aſcent; around it ſtood ſeveral huts, and at a greater diſtance towards the bottom, other huts, which appeared to have been put in a ſtate of defence: quite cloſe to the fort ran a little brook, which watered a part of the plain.

The

The Chactaws no ſooner eſpied the enemy's fort, than they rent the air with their death-cries, and inſtantly flew to the fort: but their ardour flagged at a carabin-ſhot from the place. The French marched in good order, and got beyond a ſmall wood, which they left in their rear, within cannon-ſhot of the enemy's fort, where an Engliſh flag was ſeen flying. At the ſame time four Engliſhmen, coming from the huts, were ſeen to go up the aſcent, and enter the fort, where their flag was ſet up.

Upon this, it was imagined, they would be ſummoned to quit the enemy's fort, and to ſurrender, as would in like manner the Chicaſaws: but nothing of this was once propoſed. The General gave orders to the Majors to form large detachments of each of their corps, in order to go and take the enemy's fort. Theſe orders were in part executed: three large detachments were made; namely, one of grenadiers, one of ſoldiers, and another of militia, or train-bands; who, to the number of twelve hundred men, advanced with ardour towards the enemy's fort, crying out aloud ſeveral times, *Vive le Roi*, as if already maſters of the place; which, doubtleſs, they imagined to carry ſword in hand; for in the whole army there was not a ſingle iron tool to remove the earth, and form the attacks.

The reſt of the army marched in battle-array, ten men deep; mounted the eminence whereon the fort ſtood, and being come there, ſet fire to ſome huts, with wild-fire thrown at the ends of darts; but the ſmoke ſtifled the army.

The regular troops marched in front, and the militia, or train-bands, in rear, according to rule. Theſe train-bands made a quarter turn to right and left, with intent to go and inveſt the place. But M. de Juſan, Aid-Major of the troops, ſtopt ſhort their ardor, and ſent them to their proper poſt, reſerving for his own corps the glory of carrying the place, which continued to make a briſk de-

fence. Bianville remained at the quarters of reſerve; where he obſerved what would be the iſſue of the attack, than which none could be more diſadvantageous.

Both the regulars and inhabitants, or train-bands, gave inſtances of the greateſt valour: but what could they do, open and expoſed as they were, againſt a fort, whoſe ſtakes or wooden poſts were a fathom in compaſs, and their joinings again lined with other poſts, almoſt as big? From this fort, which was well garriſoned, iſſued a ſhower of balls; which would have mowed down at leaſt half the aſſailants, if directed by men who knew how to fire. The enemy were under cover from all the attacks of the French, and could have defended themſelves by their loop-holes. Beſides, they formed a gallery of flat palliſadoes quite round, covered with earth, which ſcreened it from the effects of grenadoes. In this manner the troops laviſhed their ammunition againſt the wooden poſts, or ſtakes, of the enemy's fort, without any other effect than having thirty-two men killed, and almoſt ſeventy wounded; which laſt were carried to the body of reſerve; from whence the General, ſeeing the bad ſucceſs of the attack, ordered to beat the retreat, and ſent a large detachment to favour it. It was now five in the evening, and the attack had been begun at half an hour after one. The troops rejoined the body of the army, without being able to carry off their dead, which were left on the field of battle, expoſed to the rage of the enemy.

After taking ſome refreſhment, they directly fortified themſelves, by felling trees, in order to paſs the night ſecure from the inſults of the enemy, by being carefully on their guard. Next day it was obſerved the enemy had availed themſelves of that night to demoliſh ſome huts, where the French, during the attack, had put themſelves under cover, in order from thence to batter the fort.

On

On the 27th, the day after the attack, the army began its march, and lay at a league from the enemy. The day following, at a league from the landing-place, whither they arrived next day, the French embarked for Fort Mobile, and from thence for the Capital, from which each returned to his own home.

A little time after, a ſerjeant of the garriſon of the Illinois arrived at New Orleans, who reported, that, in conſequence of the General's orders, M. d'Artaguette had taken his meaſures ſo well, that on the 9th of May he arrived with his men near the Chicaſaws, ſent out ſcouts to diſcover the arrival of the French army; which he continued to do till the 20th: that the Indians in alliance hearing no accounts of the French, wanted either to return home, or to attack the Chicaſaws; which laſt M. d'Artaguette reſolved upon, on the 21ſt, with pretty good ſucceſs at firſt, having forced the enemy to quit their village and fort: that he then attacked another village with the ſame ſucceſs; but that purſuing the runaways, M. d'Artaguette had received two wounds, which the Indians finding, reſolved to abandon that Commandant, with forty-ſix ſoldiers and two ſerjeants, who defended their Commandant all that day, but were at laſt obliged to ſurrender; that they were well uſed by the enemy, who underſtanding that the French were in their country, prevailed on M. d'Artaguette to write to the General; but that this deputation having had no ſucceſs, and learning that the French were retired, and deſpairing of any ranſom for their ſlaves, put them to death by a ſlow fire. The ſerjeant added, he had the happineſs to fall into the hands of a good maſter, who favoured his eſcape to Mobile.

M. de Biainville, deſirous to take vengeance of the Chicaſaws, wrote to France for ſuccours, which the Court ſent, ordering alſo the Colony of Canada to ſend ſuccours. In the mean time M. de Biainville ſent off a

large detachment for the river St. Francis, in order to build a fort there, called alſo St. Francis.

The ſquadron which brought the ſuccours from France being arrived, they ſet out, by going up the Miſſiſippi, for the fort that had been juſt built. This army conſiſted of Marines, of the troops of the Colony, of ſeveral Inhabitants, many Negroes, and ſome Indians, our allies; and being aſſembled in this place, took water again, and ſtill proceeded up the Miſſiſippi to a little river called Margot, near the Cliffs called Prud'homme, and there the whole army landed. They encamped on a fine plain, at the foot of a hill, about fifteen leagues from the enemy; fortified themſelves by way of precaution, and built in the fort a-houſe for the Commandant, ſome cazerns, and a warehouſe for the goods. This fort was called Aſſumption, from the day on which they landed.

They had waggons and ſledges made, and the roads cleared for tranſporting cannon, ammunition, and other neceſſaries for forming a regular ſiege. There and then it was the ſuccours from Canada arrived, conſiſting of French, Iroquois, Hurons, Epiſingles, Algonquins, and other nations: and ſoon after arrived the new Commandant of the Illinois, with the garriſon, inhabitants, and neighbouring Indians, all that he could bring together, with a great number of horſes.

This formidable army, conſiſting of ſo many different nations, the greateſt ever ſeen, and perhaps that ever will be ſeen, in thoſe parts, remained in this camp without undertaking any thing, from the month of Auguſt 1739, to the March following. Proviſions, which at firſt were in great plenty, came at laſt to be ſo ſcarce, that they were obliged to eat the horſes which were to draw the artillery, ammunition, and proviſions: afterwards ſickneſs raged in the army. M. de Biainville, who hitherto had attempted nothing againſt the Chicaſaws, reſolved to have recourſe to mild methods. He therefore detached, about the 15th of

of March, the company of Cadets, with their Captain, M. de Celoron, their Lieutenant, M. de St. Laurent, and the Indians, who came with them from Canada, againſt the Chicaſaws, with orders to offer peace to them in his name, if they ſued for it.

What the General had foreſeen, failed not to happen. As ſoon as the Chicaſaws ſaw the French, followed by the Indians of Canada, they doubted not in the leaſt, but the reſt of that numerous army would ſoon follow; and they no ſooner ſaw them approach, but they made ſignals of peace, and came out of their fort in the moſt humble manner, expoſing themſelves to all the conſequences that might enſue, in order to obtain peace. They ſolemnly proteſted that they actually were, and would continue to be inviolable friends of the French; that it was the Engliſh, who prevailed upon them to act in this manner; but that they had fallen out with them on this account, and at that very time had two of that nation, whom they made ſlaves; and that the French might go and ſee whether they ſpoke truth.

M. de St. Laurent aſked to go, and accordingly went with a young ſlave: but he might have had reaſon to have repented it, had not the men been more prudent than the women, who demanded the head of the Frenchman: but the men, after conſulting together, were reſolved to ſave him, in order to obtain peace of the French, on giving up the two Engliſhmen. The women riſk ſcarce any thing near ſo much as the men; theſe laſt are either ſlain in battle, or put to death by their enemies; whereas the women at worſt are but ſlaves; and they all perfectly well know, that the Indian women are far better off when ſlaves to the French, than if married at home. M. de St. Laurent, highly pleaſed with this diſcovery, promiſed them peace in the name of M. de Biainville, and of all the French: after theſe aſſurances, they went all in a body out of the fort, to preſent the Pipe to M. de Celoron, who accepted it, and repeated the ſame promiſe.

In a few days after, he ſet out with a great company of Chicaſaws, deputed to carry the Pipe to the French General, and deliver up the two Engliſhmen. When they came before M. de Biainville, they fell proſtrate at his feet, and made him the ſame proteſtations of fidelity and friendſhip, as they had already made to M. de Celoron; threw the blame on the Engliſh; ſaid they were entirely fallen out with them, and had taken theſe two, and put them in his hands, as enemies. They proteſted, in the moſt ſolemn manner, they would for ever be friends of the French and of their friends, and enemies of their enemies; in fine, that they would make war on the Engliſh, if it was thought proper, in order to ſhew that they renounced them as traitors.

Thus ended the war with the Chicaſaws, about the beginning of April, 1740. M. de Biainville diſmiſſed the auxiliaries, after making them preſents; razed the Fort Aſſumption, thought to be no longer neceſſary, and embarked with his whole army; and in paſſing down, cauſed the Fort St. Francis to be demoliſhed, as it was now become uſeleſs; and he repaired to the Capital, after an abſence of more than ten months.

Some years after, we had diſputes with a part of the Chactaws, who followed the intereſts of the Red-Shoe, a Prince of that nation, who, in the firſt expedition againſt the Chicaſaws, had ſome diſputes with the French. This Indian, more inſolent than any one of his nation, took a pretext to break out, and commit ſeveral hoſtilities againſt the French. M. de Vaudreuil, then Governor of Louiſiana, being apprized of this, and of the occaſion thereof, ſtrictly forbad the French to frequent that nation, and to truck with them any arms or ammunition, in order to put a ſtop to that diſorder in a ſhort time, and without drawing the ſword.

M. de Vaudreuil, after taking theſe precautions, ſent to demand of the Grand Chief of the whole nation, whether,

ther, like the Red-Shoe, he was alſo diſpleaſed with the French. He made anſwer, he was their friend: but that the Red-Shoe was a young man, without underſtanding. Having returned this anſwer, they ſent him a preſent: but he was greatly ſurprized to find neither arms, powder, nor ball in this preſent, at a time when they were friends as before. This manner of proceeding, joined to the prohibition made of trucking with them arms or ammunition, heightened their ſurprize, and put them on having an explication on this head with the Governor; who made anſwer, That neither arms nor ammunition would be trucked with them, as long as the Red-Shoe had no more underſtanding; that they would not fail, as being brethren, to ſhare a good part of the ammunition and arms with the Warriors of the Red-Shoe. This anſwer put them on remonſtrating to the Village that inſulted us; told them, if they did not inſtantly make peace with the French, they would themſelves make war upon them. This threatning declaration made them ſue for peace with the French, who were not in a condition to maintain a war againſt a nation ſo numerous. And thus the prudent policy of M. de Vaudreuil put a ſtop to this war, without either expence or the loſs of a man.

CHAP.

CHAP. XIV.

Reflections on what gives Occaſions to Wars in Louiſiana. *The Means of avoiding Wars in that Province, as alſo the Manner of coming off with Advantage and little Expence in them.*

THE experience I have had in the art of war, from ſome compaigns I made in a regiment of dragoons till the peace of 1713, my application to the ſtudy of the wars of the Greeks, Romans, and other ancient people, and the wars I have ſeen carried on with the Indians of Louiſiana, during the time I reſided in that Province, gave me occaſion to make ſeveral reflections on what could give riſe to a war with the Indians, on the means of avoiding ſuch a war, and on ſuch methods as may be employed, in order either to make or maintain a war to advantage againſt them, when conſtrained thereto.

In the ſpace of ſixteen years that I reſided in Louiſiana, I remarked, that the wars, and even the bare diſputes we have had with the Indians of this Colony, never had any other origin, but our too familiar intercourſe with them.

In order to prove this, let us conſider the evils produced by this familiarity. In the firſt place, it makes them gradually drop that reſpect, which they naturally entertain for our nation.

In the ſecond place, the French traffickers, or traders, are generally young people without experience, who, in order to gain the good-will of theſe people, afford them lights, or inſtruction, prejudicial to our intereſt. Theſe young merchants are not, it is true, ſenſible of theſe conſequences: but again, theſe people never loſe ſight of what can be of any utility to them, and the detriment thence accruing is not leſs great, nor leſs real.

In the third place, this familiarity gives occaſion to vices, whence dangerous diſtempers enſue, and corruption of

of blood, which is naturally highly pure in this colony. Theſe perſons, who frequently reſort to the Indians, imagined themſelves authorized to give a looſe to their vices, from the practice of theſe laſt, which is to give young women to their gueſts upon their arrival; a practice that greatly injures their health, and proves a detriment to their merchandizing.

In the fourth place, this reſorting to the Indians puts theſe laſt under a conſtraint, as being fond of ſolitude; and this conſtraint is ſtill more heightened, if the French ſettlement is near them; which procures them too frequent viſits, that give them ſo much more uneaſineſs, as they care not on any account that people ſhould ſee or know any of their affairs. And what fatal examples have we not of the dangers the ſettlements which are too near the Indians incur. Let but the maſſacre of the French be recollected, and it will be evident that this proximity is extremely detrimental to the French.

In the fifth and laſt place, commerce, which is the principal allurement that draws us to this new world, inſtead of flouriſhing, is, on the contrary, endangered by the too familiar reſort to the Indians of North America. The proof of this is very ſimple.

All who reſort to countries beyond ſea, know by experience, that when there is but one ſhip in the harbour, the Captain ſells his cargo at what price he pleaſes: and then we hear it ſaid, ſuch a ſhip gained two, three, and ſometimes as high as four hundred per cent. Should another ſhip happen to arrive in that harbour, the profit abates at leaſt one half; but ſhould three arrive, or even four ſucceſſively, the goods then are, ſo to ſpeak, thrown at the head of the buyer: ſo that in this caſe a merchant has often great difficulty to recover his very expences of fitting out. I ſhould therefore be led to believe, that it would be for the intereſt of commerce, if the Indians were left to come to fetch what merchandize they wanted, who

who having none but us in their neighbourhood, would come for it, without the French running any riſk in their commerce, much leſs in their lives.

For this purpoſe, let us ſuppoſe a nation of Indians on the banks of ſome river or rivulet, which is always the caſe, as as all men whatever have at all times occaſion for water. This being ſuppoſed, I look out for a ſpot proper to build a ſmall terras-fort on, with fraiſes or ſtakes, and palliſadoes. In this fort I would build two ſmall places for lodgings, of no great height; one to lodge the officers, the other the ſoldiers: this fort to have an advanced work, a half-moon, or the like, according to the importance of the poſt. The paſſage to be through this advanced work to the fort, and no Indian allowed to enter on any pretence whatever; not even to receive the Pipe of Peace there, but only in the advanced work; the gate of the fort to be kept ſhut day and night againſt all but the French. At the gate of the advanced work a ſentinel to be poſted, and that gate to be opened and ſhut on each perſon appearing before it. By theſe precautions we might be ſure never to be ſurpriſed, either by avowed enemies, or by treachery. In the advanced work a ſmall building to be made for the merchants, who ſhould come thither to traffick or truck with the neighbouring Indians; of which laſt only three or four to be admitted at a time, all to have the merchandize at the ſame price, and no one to be favoured above another. No ſoldier or inhabitant to go to the villages of the neighbouring Indians, under ſevere penalties. By this conduct diſputes would be avoided, as they only ariſe from too great a familiarity with them. Theſe forts to be never nearer the villages than five leagues, or more diſtant than ſeven or eight. The Indians would make nothing of ſuch a jaunt; it would be only a walk for them, and their want of goods would eaſily draw them, and in a little time they would become habituated to it. The merchants to pay a ſalary to an interpreter,

interpreter, who might be ſome orphan, brought up very young among theſe people.

This fort, thus diſtant a ſhort journey, might be built without obſtruction, or giving any umbrage to the Indians; as they might be told it was built in order to be at hand to truck their furs, and at the ſame time to give them no manner of uneaſineſs. One advantage would be, beſides that of commerce, which would be carried on there, that theſe forts would prevent the Engliſh from having any communication with the Indians, as theſe laſt would find a great facility for their truck, and in forts ſo near them, every thing they could want.

The examples of the ſurprize of the forts of the Natchez, the Yazoux, and the Miſſouris, ſhew but too plainly the fatal conſequences of negligence in the ſervice, and of a miſplaced condeſcenſion in favour of the ſoldiers, by ſuffering them to build huts near the fort, and to lie in them. None ſhould be allowed to lie out of the fort, not even the Officers. The Commandant of the Natchez, and the other Officers, and even the Serjeants, were killed in their houſes without the fort. I ſhould not be againſt the ſoldiers planting little fields of tobacco, potatoes, and other plants, too low to conceal a man: on the contrary, theſe employments would incline them to become ſettlers; but I would never allow them houſes out of the fort. By this means a fort becomes impregnable againſt the moſt numerous nation; becauſe they never will attack, ſhould they have ever ſo much cauſe, as long as they ſee people on their guard.

Should it be objected that theſe forts would coſt a great deal: I anſwer, that though there was to be a fort for each nation, which is not the caſe, it would not coſt near ſo much as from time to time it takes to ſupport wars, which in this country are very expenſive, on account of the long journeys, and of tranſporting all the implements of war, hitherto made uſe of. Beſides, we have a great part

part of theſe forts already built, ſo that we only want the advanced works; and two new forts more would ſuffice to compleat this deſign, and prevent the fraudulent commerce of the Engliſh traders.

As to the manner of carrying on the war in Louiſiana, as was hitherto done, it is very expenſive, highly fatiguing, and the riſk always great; becauſe you muſt firſt tranſport the ammunition to the landing-place; from thence travel for many leagues; then drag the artillery along by main force, and carry the ammunition on men's ſhoulders, a thing that haraſſes and weakens the troops very much. Moreover, there is a great deal of riſk in making war in this manner: you have the approaches of a fort to make, which cannot be done without loſs of lives: and ſhould you make a breach, how many brave men are loſt, before you can force men who fight like deſperadoes, becauſe they prefer death to ſlavery.

I ſay, ſhould you make a breach; becauſe in all the time I reſided in this Province, I never ſaw nor heard that the cannon which were brought againſt the Indian forts, ever made a breach for a ſingle man to paſs: it is therefore quite uſeleſs to be at that expence, and to haraſs the troops to bring artillery, which can be of no manner of ſervice.

That cannon can make no breach in Indian forts may appear ſtrange: but not more ſtrange than true; as will appear, if we conſider that the wooden poſts or ſtakes which ſurround theſe forts, are too big for a bullet of the ſize of thoſe uſed in theſe wars, to cut them down, though it were even to hit their middle. If the bullet gives more towards the edge of the tree, it glides off, and ſtrikes the next to it; ſhould the ball hit exactly between two poſts, it opens them, and meets the poſt of the lining, which ſtops it ſhort: another ball may ſtrike the ſame tree, at the other joining, then it cloſes the little aperture the other had made.

Were

Were I to undertake ſuch a war, I would bring only a few Indian allies; I could eaſily manage them; they would not ſtand me ſo much in preſents, nor conſume ſo much ammunition and proviſions: a great ſaving this; and bringing no cannon with me, I ſhould alſo ſave expences. I would have none but portable arms; and thus my troops would not be haraſſed. The country every where furniſhes wherewithal to make moveable intrenchments and approaches, without opening the ground: and I would flatter myſelf to carry the fort in two days time. There I ſtop: the reader has no need of this detail, nor I to make it public.

CHAP. XV.

Penſacola *taken by Surprize by the* French. *Retaken by the* Spaniards. *Again retaken by the* French, *and demoliſhed.*

BEFORE I go any farther, I think it neceſſary to relate what happened with reſpect to the Fort of Penſacola in Virginia*. This fort belongs to the Spaniards, and ſerves for an Entrepot, or harbour for the Spaniſh galleons to put into, in their paſſage from La Vera Cruz to Europe.

Towards the beginning of the year 1719, the Commandant General having underſtood by the laſt ſhips which arrived, that war was declared between France and Spain, reſolved to take the poſt of Penſacola from the Spaniards; which ſtands on the continent, about fifteen leagues from Iſle Dauphine, is defended by a ſtaccado-fort the entrance of the road: over againſt it ſtands a fortin, or ſmall fort, on the weſt point of the Iſle St. Roſe; which, on that ſide, defends the entrance of the road: this fort has only a guard-houſe to defend it.

The

* The author muſt mean Carolina.

The Commandant General, perſuaded it would be impoſſible to beſiege the place in form, wanted to take it by ſurprize, confiding in the ardor of the French, and ſecurity of the Spaniards, who were as yet ignorant of our being at war with them in Europe. With that view he aſſembled the few troops he had, with ſeveral Canadian and French planters, newly arrived, who went as volunteers. M. de Chateauguier, the Commandant's brother, and King's Lieutenant, commanded under him; and next him, M. de Richebourg, Captain. After arming this body of men, and getting the neceſſary ſupplies of ammunition and proviſions, he embarked with his ſmall army, and by the favour of a proſperous wind, arrived in a ſhort time at his place of deſtination. The French anchored near the fortin, made their deſcent undiſcovered, ſeized on the guard-houſe, and clapt the ſoldiers in irons; which was done in leſs than half an hour. Some French ſoldiers were ordered to put on the cloaths of the Spaniards, in order to facilitate the ſurpriſing the enemy. The thing ſucceeded to their wiſh. On the morrow at day-break, they perceived the boat which carried the detachment from Penſacola, in order to relieve the guard of the fortin; on which the Spaniſh march was cauſed to be beat up; and the French in diſguiſe receiving them, and clapping them in irons, put on their cloaths; and ſtepping into the ſame boat, ſurpriſed the ſentinel, the guard-houſe, and at laſt the garriſon, to the very Governor himſelf, who was taken in bed; ſo that they all were made priſoners without any blood-ſhed.

The Commandant General, apprehenſive of the ſcarcity of proviſions, ſhipped off the priſoners, eſcorted by ſome ſoldiers, commanded by M. de Richebourg, in order to land them at the Havanna: he left his brother at Penſacola, to command there, with a garriſon of ſixty men. As ſoon as the French veſſel had anchored at the Havanna, M. de Richebourg went on ſhore, to acquaint the

Spaniſh

Spaniſh Governor with his commiſſion; who received him with politeneſs, and as a teſtimony of his gratitude, made him and his officers priſoners, put the ſoldiers in irons and in priſon, where they lay for ſome time, expoſed to hunger and the inſults of the Spaniards, which determined many of them to enter into the ſervice of Spain, in order to eſcape the extreme miſery under which they groaned.

Some of the French, newly enliſted in the Spaniſh troops, informed the Governor of the Havanna, that the French garriſon left at Penſacola was very weak: he, in his turn, reſolved to carry that fort by way of repriſal. For that purpoſe he cauſed a Spaniſh veſſel, with that which the French had brought to the Havanna, to be armed. The Spaniſh veſſel ſtationed itſelf behind the Iſle St. Roſe, and the French veſſel came before the fort with French colours. The ſentinel enquired, who commanded the veſſel? They anſwered, M. de Richebourg. This veſſel, after anchoring, took down her French, and hoiſted Spaniſh colours, firing three guns: at which ſignal, agreed on by the Spaniards, the Spaniſh veſſel joined the firſt; then they ſummoned the French to ſurrender. M. de Chateauguiere rejected the propoſition, fired upon the Spaniards, and they continued cannonading each other till night.

On the following day the cannonading was continued till noon, when the Spaniards ceaſed firing, in order to ſummon the Commandant anew to ſurrender the fort: he demanded four days, and was allowed two. During that time, he ſent to aſk ſuccours of his brother, who was in no condition to ſend him any.

The term being expired, the attack was renewed, the Commandant bravely defending himſelf till night; which two thirds of the garriſon availed themſelves of, to abandon their Governor, who, having only twenty men left,

ſaw himſelf unable to make any longer reſiſtance, demanded to capitulate, and was allowed all the honours of war; but in going out of the place, he and all his men were made priſoners. This infraction of the capitulation was occaſioned by the ſhame the Spaniards conceived, of being conſtrained to capitulate in this manner with twenty men only.

As ſoon as the Governor of the Havanna was appriſed of the ſurrender of the fort, vainly imagining he had overthrown half his enemies at leaſt, he cauſed great rejoicings to be made in the iſland, as if he had gained a deciſive victory, or carried a citadel of importance. He alſo ſent off ſeveral veſſels to victual and refreſh his warriors, who, according to him, muſt have been greatly fatigued in ſuch an action as I have juſt deſcribed.

The new Governor of Penſacola cauſed the fortifications to be repaired and even augmented; ſent afterwards the veſſel, named the Great Devil, armed with ſix pieces of cannon, to take Dauphin Iſland, or at leaſt to ſtrike terror into it. The veſſel St. Philip, which lay in the road, entered a gut or narrow place, and there mooring acroſs, brought all her guns to bear on the enemy; and made the Great Devil ſenſible, that Saints reſiſt all the efforts of Hell.

This ſhip, by her poſition, ſerved for a citadel to the whole iſland, which had neither fortifications nor intrenchments, nor any other ſort of defence, excepting a battery of cannon at the eaſt point, with ſome inhabitants, who guarded the coaſt, and prevented a deſcent. The Great Devil, finding ſhe made no progreſs, was conſtrained, by way of relaxation, to go and pillage on the continent the habitation of the Sieur Miragouine, which was abandoned. In the mean time arrived from Penſacola, a little devil, a pink, to the aſſiſtance of the Great Devil. As ſoon as they joined, they began afreſh to cannonade the iſland, which made a vigorous defence.

In the time that theſe two veſſels attempted in vain to take the iſland, a ſquadron of five ſhips came in ſight, four of them with Spaniſh colours, and the leaſt carrying French hoiſted to the top of the ſtaff, as if taken by the four others. In this the French were equally deceived with the Spaniards: the former, however, knew the ſmall veſſel, which was the pink, the Mary, commanded by the brave M. Iapy. The Spaniards, convinced by theſe appearances, that ſuccours were ſent them, deputed two officers in a ſhallop on board the commodore: but they were no ſooner on board, than they were made priſoners.

They were in effect three French men of war, with two ſhips of the Company, commanded by M. Champmelin. Theſe ſhips brought upwards of eight hundred men, and thirty officers, as well ſuperior as ſubaltern, all of them old and faithful ſervants of the King, in order to remain in Louiſiana. The Spaniards, finding their error, fled to Penſacola, to carry the news of this ſuccour being arrived for the French.

The ſquadron anchored before the iſland, hoiſted French colours, and fired a ſalvo, which was anſwered by the place. The St. Philip was drawn out and made to join the ſquadron: a new embarkation of troops was made, and the Mary left before Iſle Dauphine.

On September the 7th, finding the wind favourable, the ſquadron ſet ſail for Penſacola: by the way, the troops that were to make the attack on the continent, were landed near Rio Perdido; after which the ſhips, preceded by a boat, which ſhewed the way, entered the harbour, and anchored, and laid their broad ſides, in ſpite of ſeveral diſcharges of cannon from the fort, which is upon the Iſle of St. Roſe. The ſhips had no ſooner laid their broad-ſides, but the canonnade began on both ſides. Our ſhips had two forts to batter, and ſeven ſail of ſhips

that lay in the harbour. But the great land fort fired only one gun on our army, in which the Spaniſh Govetnor, having obſerved upwards of three hundred Indians, commanded by M. de St. Denis, whoſe bravery was univerſally acknowledged, was ſtruck with ſuch a panick, from the fear of falling into their hands, that he ſtruck, and ſurrendered the place.

The fight continued for about two hours longer: but the heavy metal of our Commodore making great execution, the Spaniards cried out ſeveral times on board their ſhips, to ſtrike; but fear prevented their executing theſe orders: none but a French priſoner durſt do it for them. They quitted their ſhips, leaving matches behind, which would have ſoon ſet them on fire. The French priſoners between decks, no longer hearing the leaſt noiſe, ſurmiſed a flight, came on deck, diſcovered the ſtratagem of the Spaniards, removed the matches, and thus hindered the veſſels from taking fire, acquainting the Commodore therewith. The little fort held out but an hour longer, after which it ſurrendered for want of gunpowder. The Commandant came himſelf to put his ſword in the hands of M. Champmelin, who embraced him, returned him his ſword, and told him, he knew how to diſtinguiſh between a brave officer, and one who was not. He made his own ſhip his place of confinement, whereas the Commandant of the great fort was made the laughing-ſtock of the French.

All the Spaniards on board the ſhips, and thoſe of the two forts were made priſoners of war: but the French deſerters, to the number of forty, were made to caſt lots; half of them were hanged at the yard-arms, the reſt condemned to be galley-ſlaves to the Company for ten years in the country.

M. Champmelin cauſed the two forts to be demoliſhed, preſerving only three or four houſes, with a warehouſe.

Theſe

Theſe houſes were to lodge the officer, and the few ſoldiers that were left there, and one to be a guard-houſe. The reſt of the planters were tranſported to Iſle Dauphine, and M. Champmelin ſet ſail for France *.

The hiſtory of Penſacola is the more neceſſary, as it is ſo near our ſettlements, that the Spaniards hear our guns, when we give them notice by that ſignal of our deſign to come and trade with them.

* At the peace that ſoon ſucceeded between France and Spain, Penſacola was reſtored to the laſt.

THE HISTORY OF LOUISIANA.

BOOK II.

Of the Country, and its Products.

CHAP. I.

Geographical Deſcription of Louiſiana. *Its Climate.*

LOUISIANA is that part of North America, which is bounded on the ſouth by the Gulf of Mexico; on the eaſt by Carolina, an Engliſh colony, and by a part of Canada; on the weſt by New Mexico; and on the north, in part by Canada; in part it extends, without any aſſignable bounds, to the Terræ Incognitæ, adjoining to Hudſon's Bay *. Its breadth is about two hundred leagues †, extending between the Spa-

* By the charter granted by Louis XIV. to M. Crozat, Louiſiana extends only "from the edge of the ſea as far as the Illinois," which is not above half the extent aſſigned by our author.

† According to the beſt maps and accounts extant, the diſtance from the Miſſiſippi to the mountains of New Mexico is about nine hundred miles, and from the Miſſiſippi to the Atlantic Ocean about ſix hundred; reckoning ſixty miles to a degree, and in a ſtraight line.

niſh and Engliſh ſettlements; its length undetermined, as being altogether unknown. However, the ſource of the Miſſiſippi will afford us ſome light on this head.

The climate of Louiſiana varies in proportion as it extends northward: all that can be ſaid of it in general is, that its ſouthern parts are not ſo ſcorching as thoſe of Africa in the ſame latitude; and that the northern parts are colder than the correſponding parts of Europe. New Orleans, which lies in lat. 30°, as do the more northerly coaſts of Barbary and Egypt, enjoys the ſame temperature of climate as Languedoc. Two degrees higher up, at the Natchez, where I reſided for eight years, the climate is far more mild than at New Orleans, the country lying higher: and at the Illinois, which is between 45° and 46°, the ſummer is in no reſpect hotter than at Rochelle; but we find the froſts harder, and a more plentiful fall of ſnow. This difference of climate from that of Africa and Europe, I aſcribe to two cauſes: the firſt is, the number of woods, which, though ſcattered up and down, cover the face of this country: the ſecond, the great number of rivers. The former prevent the ſun from warming the earth; and the latter diffuſe a great degree of humidity: not to mention the continuity of this country with thoſe to the northward; from which it follows, that the winds blowing from that quarter are much colder than if they traverſed the ſea in their courſe. For it is well known that the air is never ſo hot, and never ſo cold at ſea, as on land.

We ought not therefore to be ſurprized, if in the ſouthern part of Louiſiana, a north wind obliges people in ſummer to be warmer cloathed; or if in winter a ſouth wind admits of a lighter dreſs; as naturally owing, at the one time to the dryneſs of the wind, at the other, to the proximity of the Equator.

Few days paſs in Louiſiana without ſeeing the ſun. The rain pours down there in ſudden heavy ſhowers, which

which do not laſt long, but diſappear in half an hour, perhaps. The dews are very plentiful, advantageouſly ſupplying the place of rain.

We may therefore well imagine that the air is perfectly good there; the blood is pure; the people are healthy; ſubject to few diſeaſes in the vigour of life, and without decrepitude in old age, which they carry to a far greater length than in France. People live to a long and agreeable old age in Louiſiana, if they are but ſober and temperate.

This country is extremely well watered, but much more ſo in ſome places than in others. The Miſſiſippi divides this colony from north to ſouth into two parts almoſt equal. The firſt diſcoverers of this river by the way of Canada, called it Colbert, in honour of that great Miniſter. By ſome of the ſavages of the north it is called Meact-Chaſſipi, which literally denotes, The Ancient Father of Rivers, of which the French have, by corruption, formed Miſſiſippi. Other Indians, eſpecially thoſe lower down the river, call it Balbancha; and at laſt the French have given it the name of St. Louis.

Several travellers have in vain attempted to go up to its ſource; which, however, is well known, whatever ſome authors, miſinformed, may alledge to the contrary. We here ſubjoin the accounts that may be moſt depended upon.

M. de Charleville, a Canadian, and a relation of M. de Biainville, Commandant General of this colony, told me, that at the time of the ſettlement of the French, curioſity alone had led him to go up this river to its ſources; that for this end he fitted out a canoe, made of the bark of the birch-tree, in order to be more portable in caſe of need. And that having thus ſet out with two Canadians and two Indians, with goods, ammunition, and proviſions, he went up the river three hundred leagues to the north, above the Illinois: that there he found the Fall, called

called St. Antony's. This fall is a flat rock, which traverſes the river, and gives it only between eight or ten feet fall. He cauſed his canoe and effects to be carried over that place; and that embarking afterwards above the fall, he continued going up the river an hundred leagues more to the north, where he met the Sioux, a people inhabiting that country, at ſome diſtance from the Miſſiſippi; ſome ſay, on each ſide of it.

The Sioux, little accuſtomed to ſee Europeans, were ſurprized at ſeeing him, and aſked whither he was going. He told them, up the Miſſiſippi to its ſource. They anſwered, that the country whither he was going was very bad, and where he would have great difficulty to find game for ſubſiſtence; that it was a great way off, reckoned as far from the ſource to the fall, as from this laſt to the ſea. According to this information, the Miſſiſippi muſt meaſure from its ſource to its mouth between fifteen and ſixteen hundred leagues, as they reckon eight hundred leagues from St. Antony's Fall to the ſea. This conjecture is the more probable, as that far to the north, ſeveral rivers of a pretty long courſe fall into the Miſſiſippi; and that even above St. Antony's Fall, we find in this river between thirty and thirty five fathom water, and a breadth in proportion; which can never be from a ſource at no great diſtance off. I may add, that all the Indians, informed by thoſe nearer the ſource, are of the ſame opinion.

Though M. de Charleville did not ſee the ſource of the Miſſiſippi, he, however, learned, that a great many rivers empty their waters into it: that even above St. Antony's Fall, he ſaw rivers on each ſide of the Miſſiſippi, having a courſe of upwards of an hundred leagues.

It is proper to obſerve, that in going down the river from St. Antony's Fall, the right hand is the weſt, the left the eaſt. The firſt river we meet from the fall, and ſome leagues lower down, is the river St. Peter, which

which comes from the weſt: lower down to the eaſt, is the river St. Croix, both of them tolerable large rivers. We meet ſeveral others ſtill leſs, the names of which are of no conſequence. Afterwards we meet with the river Moingona, which comes from the weſt, about two hundred and fifty leagues below the fall, and upwards of an hundred and fifty leagues in length. This river is ſomewhat brackiſh. From that river to the Illinois, ſeveral rivulets or brooks, both to the right and left, fall into the Miſſiſippi. The river of the Illinois comes from the eaſt, and takes its riſe on the frontiers of Canada; its length is two hundred leagues.

The river Miſſouri comes from a ſource about eight hundred leagues diſtant; and running from north-weſt to ſouth-eaſt, diſcharges itſelf into the Miſſiſippi, about four or five leagues below the river of the Illinois. This river receives ſeveral others, in particular the river of the Canzas, which runs above an hundred and fifty leagues. From the rivers of the Illinois and the Miſſouri to the ſea are reckoned five hundred leagues, and three hundred to St. Antony's Fall: from the Miſſouri to the Wabache, or Ohio, an hundred leagues. By this laſt river is the paſſage from Louiſiana to Canada. This voyage is performed from New Orleans by going up the Miſſiſippi to the Wabache; which they go up in the ſame manner quite to the river of the Miamis; in which they proceed as far as the Carrying-place; from which there are two leagues to a little river which falls into Lake Eric. Here they change their veſſels; they come in pettyaugres, and go down the river St. Laurence to Quebec in birch canoes. On the river St. Laurence are ſeveral carrying-places, on account of its many falls or cataracts.

Thoſe who have performed this voyage, have told me they reckoned eighteen hundred leagues from New Orleans to Quebec *. Though the Wabache is conſidered in Louiſiana, as the moſt conſiderable of the rivers which come from

* It is not above nine hundred leagues.

from Canada, and which, uniting in one bed, form the river commonly called by that name, yet all the Canadian travellers aſſure me, that the river called Ohio, and which falls into the Wabache, comes a much longer way than this laſt; which ſhould be a reaſon for giving it the name Ohio; but cuſtom has prevailed in this reſpect *.

From the Wabache, and on the ſame ſide, to Manchac, we ſee but very few rivers, and thoſe very ſmall ones, which fall into the Miſſiſippi, though there are nearly three hundred and fifty leagues from the Wabache to Manchac †. This will, doubtleſs, appear ſomething extraordinary to thoſe unacquainted with the country.

The reaſon, that may be aſſigned for it, appears quite natural and ſtriking. In all that part of Louiſiana, which is to the eaſt of the Miſſiſippi, the lands are ſo high in the neighbourhood of the river, that in many places the rain-water runs off from the banks of the Miſſiſippi, and diſcharges itſelf into rivers, which fall either directly into the ſea, or into lakes. Another very probable reaſon is, that from the Wabache to the ſea, no rain falls but in ſudden guſts; which defect is compenſated by the abundant dews, ſo that the plants loſe nothing by that means. The Wabache has a courſe of three hundred leagues, and the Ohio has its ſource a hundred leagues ſtill farther off.

In continuing to go down the Miſſiſippi, from the Wabache to the river of the Arkanſas, we obſerve but few rivers, and thoſe pretty ſmall. The moſt conſiderable is that of St. Francis, which is diſtant thirty and odd leagues from that of the Arkanſas. It is on this river of St. Francis, that the hunters of New Orleans go every winter to make ſalt proviſions, tallow, and bears oil, for the ſupply of the capital.

The

* But not among the Engliſh; we call it the Ohio.

† That is, from the mouth of the Ohio to the river Iberville, which other accounts make but two hundred and fifty leagues.

The river of the Arkanſas, which is thirty-five leagues lower down, and two hundred leagues from New Orleans, is ſo denominated from the Indians of that name, who dwell on its banks, a little above its confluence with the Miſſiſippi. It runs three hundred leagues, and its ſource is in the ſame latitude with Santa-Fé, in New Mexico, in the mountains of which it riſes. It runs up a little to the north for a hundred leagues, by forming a flat elbow, or winding, and returns from thence to the ſouth-eaſt, quite to the Miſſiſippi. It has a cataract, or fall, about the middle of its courſe. Some call it the White River, becauſe in its courſe it receives a river of that name. The Great Cut-point is about forty leagues below the river of the Arkanſas: this was a long circuit which the Miſſiſippi formerly took, and which it has abridged, by making its way through this point of land.

Below this river, ſtill going towards the ſea, we obſerve ſcarce any thing but brooks or rivulets, except the river of the Yaſous, ſixty leagues lower down. This river runs but about fifty leagues, and will hardly admit of a boat for a great way: it has taken its name from the nation of the Yaſous, and ſome others dwelling on its banks. Twenty-eight leagues below the river of the Yaſous, is a great cliff of a reddiſh free-ſtone: over-againſt this cliff are the great and little whirlpools.

From this little river, we meet but with very ſmall ones, till we come to the Red River, called at firſt the Marne, becauſe nearly as big as that river, which falls into the Seine. The Nachitoches dwell on its banks, and it was diſtinguiſhed by the name of that nation; but its common name, and which it ſtill bears, is that of the Red River. It takes its riſe in New Mexico, forms an elbow to the north, in the ſame manner as the river of the Arkanſas, falls down afterwards towards the Miſſiſippi, running ſouth eaſt. They generally allow it a courſe of two hundred leagues. At about ten leagues from its confluence

fluence it receives the Black River, or the river of the Wachitas, which takes its riſe pretty near that of the Arkanſas. This rivulet, or ſource, forms, as is ſaid, a fork pretty near its riſe, one arm of which falls into the river of the Arkanſas; the largeſt forms the Black River. Twenty leagues below the Red River is the Little Cut-point, and a league below that point are the little cliffs.

From the Red River to the ſea we obſerve nothing but ſome ſmall brooks: but on the eaſt ſide, twenty-five leagues above New Orleans, we find a channel, which is dry at low water. The inundations of the Miſſiſippi formed this channel (which is called Manchac) below ſome high lands, which terminate near that place. It diſcharges itſelf into the lake Maurepas, and from thence into that of St. Louis, of which I gave an account before.

The channel runs eaſt ſouth-eaſt: formerly there was a paſſage through it; but at preſent it is ſo choaked up with dead wood, that it begins to have no water * but at the place where it receives the river Amité, which is pretty large, and which runs ſeventy leagues in a very fine country.

A very ſmall river falls into the lake Maurepas, to the eaſt of Manchac. In proceeding eaſtward, we may paſs from this lake into that of St. Louis, by a river formed by the waters of the Amité. In going to the north of this lake, we meet to the eaſt the little river Tandgipao. From thence proceeding always eaſt, we come to the river Quéfoncté, which is long and beautiful, and comes from the Chactaws. Proceeding in the ſame route, we meet the river Caſtin-Bayouc: we may afterwards quit the lake by the channel, which borders the ſame country, and proceeding eaſtward we meet with Pearl River which falls into this channel.

Farther

* Manchac is almoſt dry for three quarters of the year: but during the inundation, the waters of the river have a vent through it into the lakes Ponchartrain and St. Louis. *Dumont*, II. 297.

This is the river Iberville, which is to be the boundary of the Britiſh dominions.

Farther up the coaſt, which lies from weſt to eaſt, we meet St. Louis's Bay, into which a little river of that name diſcharges itſelf: farther on, we meet the river of the Paſka-Ogoulas: and at length we arrive at the Bay of Mobile, which runs upwards of thirty leagues into the country, where it receives the river of the ſame name, which runs for about a hundred and fifty leagues from north to ſouth. All the rivers I have juſt mentioned, and which fall not into the Miſſiſippi, do in like manner run from north to ſouth.

Deſcription of the Lower Louiſiana, *and the Mouths of the* Miſſiſippi.

I Return to Manchac, where I quitted the Miſſiſippi. At a little diſtance from Manchac we meet the river of the Plaqumines; it lies to the weſt, and is rather a creek than a river. Three or four leagues lower down is the Fork, which is a channel running to the weſt of the Miſſiſippi, through which a part of the inundations of that river run off. Theſe waters paſs through ſeveral lakes, and from thence to the ſea, by Aſcenſion Bay. As to the other rivers to the weſt of this bay, their names are unknown.

The waters which fall into thoſe lakes conſiſt not only of ſuch as paſs through this channel, but alſo of thoſe that come out of the Miſſiſippi, when overflowing its banks on each ſide: for, of all the water which comes out of the Miſſiſippi over its banks, not a drop ever returns into its bed; but this is only to be underſtood of the low lands, that is, between fifty and ſixty leagues from the ſea eaſtward, and upwards of a hundred leagues weſtward.

It will, doubtleſs, ſeem ſtrange, that a river which overflows its banks, ſhould never after recover its waters again, either in whole or in part; and this will appear ſo much

much the more ſingular, as every where elſe it happens otherwiſe in the like circumſtances.

It appeared no leſs ſtrange to myſelf; and I have on all occaſions endeavoured to the utmoſt, to find out what could produce an effect, which really appeared to me very extraordinary, and, I imagine, not without ſucceſs.

From Manchac down to the ſea, it is probable, and even in ſome degree certain, that all the lands thereabouts are brought down and accumulated by means of the ooze which the Miſſiſippi carries along with it in its annual inundations; which begin in the month of March, by the melting of the ſnow to the north, and laſt for about three months. Thoſe oozy or muddy lands eaſily produce herbs and reeds; and when the Miſſiſippi happens to overflow the following year, theſe herbs and reeds intercept a part of this ooze, ſo that thoſe at a diſtance from the river cannot retain ſo large a quantity of it, ſince thoſe that grow next the river have ſtopt the greateſt part; and by a neceſſary conſequence, the others farther off, and in proportion as they are diſtant from the Miſſiſippi, can retain a much leſs quantity of the mud. In this manner the land riſing higher along the river, in proceſs of time the banks of the Miſſiſippi became higher than the lands about it. In like manner alſo theſe neighbouring lakes on each ſide of the river are remains of the ſea, which are not yet filled up. Other rivers have firm banks, formed by the hands of Nature, a land of the ſame nature with the continent, and always adhering thereto: theſe ſorts of banks, inſtead of augmenting, do daily diminiſh, either by ſinking, or tumbling down into the bed of the river. The banks of the Miſſiſippi, on the contrary, increaſe, and cannot diminiſh in the low and accumulated lands; becauſe the ooze, alone depoſited on its banks, increaſe them; which, beſides, is the reaſon that the Miſſiſippi becomes narrower, in place of waſhing away the earth, and enlarging its bed, as all other known

rivers

rivers do. If we conſider theſe facts, therefore, we ought no longer to be ſurprized that the waters of the Miſſiſippi, when once they have left their bed, can never return thither again.

In order to prove this augmentation of lands, I ſhall relate what happened near New Orleans: one of the inhabitants cauſed a well to be ſunk at a little diſtance from the Miſſiſippi, in order to procure a clearer water. At twenty feet deep there was found a tree laid flat, three feet in diameter: the height of the earth was therefore augmented twenty feet ſince the fall or lodging of that tree, as well by the accumulated mud, as by the rotting of the leaves, which fall every winter, and which the Miſſiſippi carries down in vaſt quantities. In effect, it ſweeps down a great deal of mud, becauſe it runs for twelve hundred leagues at leaſt acroſs a country which is nothing elſe but earth, which the depth of the river ſufficiently proves. It carries down vaſt quantities of leaves, canes and trees, upon its waters, the breadth of which is always above half a league, and ſometimes a league and a quarter. Its banks are covered with much wood, ſometimes for the breadth of a league on each ſide, from its ſource to its mouth. There is nothing therefore more eaſy to be conceived, than that this river carries down with its waters a prodigious quantity of ooze, leaves, canes and trees, which it continually tears up by the roots, and that the ſea throwing back again all theſe things, they ſhould neceſſarily produce the lands in queſtion, and which are ſenſibly increaſing. At the entrance of the paſs or channel to the ſouth-eaſt, there was built a ſmall fort, ſtill called Baliſe. This fort was built on a little iſland, without the mouth of the river. In 1734 it ſtood on the ſame ſpot, and I have been told that at preſent it is half a league within the river: the land therefore hath in twenty years gained this ſpace on the ſea. Let us now reſume the ſequel of the Geographical Deſcription of Louiſiana.

The coaſt is bounded to the weſt by St. Bernard's Bay, where M. de la Salle landed; into this bay a ſmall river falls, and there are ſome others which diſcharge their waters between this bay and Aſcenſion bay; the planters ſeldom frequent that coaſt. On the eaſt the coaſt is bounded by Rio Perdido, which the French corruptedly call aux Perdrix; Rio Perdido ſignifying Loſt River, aptly ſo called by the Spaniards, becauſe it loſes itſelf under ground, and afterwards appears again, and diſcharges itſelf into the ſea, a little to the Eaſt of Mobile, on which the firſt French planters ſettled.

From the Fork down to the ſea, there is no river; nor is it poſſible there ſhould be any, after what I have related: on the contrary, we find at a ſmall diſtance from the Fork, another channel to the eaſt, called the Bayouc of le Sueur: it is full of a ſoft ooze or mud, and communicates with the lakes which lie to the eaſt.

On coming nearer to the ſea, we meet, at about eight leagues from the principal mouth of the Miſſiſippi, the firſt Paſs; and a league lower down, the Otter Paſs. Theſe two paſſes or channels are only for pettyaugres. From this place there is no land fit to tread on, it being all a quagmire down to the ſea. There alſo we find a point, which parts the mouths of the Miſſiſippi: that to the right is called the South-Paſs, or Channel; the weſt point of which runs two leagues farther into the ſea than the point of the South-eaſt Paſs, which is to the left of that of the South Paſs. At firſt veſſels entred by the South-eaſt Paſs, but before we go down to it, we find to the left the Eaſt-Paſs, which is that by which ſhips enter at preſent.

At each of theſe three Paſſes or Channels there is a Bar, as in all other rivers: theſe bars are three quarters of a league broad, with only eight or nine feet water: but there is a channel through this bar, which being often ſubject to ſhift, the coaſting pilot is obliged to be always

always ſounding, in order to be ſure of the paſs: this channel is, at low water, between ſeventeen and eighteen feet deep *.

This deſcription may ſuffice to ſhew that the falling in with the land from ſea is bad; the land ſcarce appears two leagues off; which doubtleſs made the Spaniards call the Miſſiſippi Rio Eſcondido, the Hid River. This river is generally muddy, owing to the waters of the Miſſouri; for before this junction the water of the Miſſiſippi is very clear. I muſt not omit mentioning that no ſhip can either enter or continue in the river when the waters are high, on account of the prodigious numbers of trees, and vaſt quantities of dead wood, which it carries down, and which, together with the canes, leaves, mud, and ſand, which the ſea throws back upon the coaſt, are continually augmenting the land, and make it project into the Gulf of Mexico, like the bill of a bird.

I ſhould be naturally led to divide Louiſiana into the Higher and Lower, on account of the great difference between the two principal parts of this vaſt country. The Higher I would call that part in which we find ſtone, which we firſt meet with between the river of the Natchez and that of the Yaſous, between which is a cliff of a fine free ſtone; and I would terminate that part at Manchac, where the high lands end. I would extend the Lower Louiſiana from thence down to the ſea. The bottom of the lands on the hills is a red clay, and ſo compact, as might afford a ſolid foundation for any building whatever. This clay is covered by a light earth, which is almoſt black, and very fertile. The graſs grows there knee deep; and in the bottoms, which ſeparate theſe ſmall eminences, it is higher than the talleſt man. Towards the end of September both are ſucceſſively ſet on fire; and in eight or ten days young graſs ſhoots up

* I ſhall make no mention of the iſlands, which are frequent in the Miſſiſippi, as being, properly ſpeaking, nothing but little iſles, produced by ſome trees, though the ſoil be nothing but a ſand bottom.

half a foot high. One will eaſily judge, that in ſuch paſtures herds of all creatures fatten extraordinarily. The flat country is watery, and appears to have been formed by every thing that comes down to the ſea. I ſhall add, that pretty near the Nachitoches, we find banks of muſcle-ſhells, ſuch as thoſe of which Cockle-Iſland is formed. The neighbouring nation affirms, that according to their old tradition, the ſea formerly came up to this place. The women of this nation go and gather theſe ſhells, and make a powder of them, which they mix with the earth, of which they make their pottery, or earthen ware. However, I would not adviſe the uſe of theſe ſhells indifferently for this purpoſe, becauſe they are naturally apt to crack in the fire: I have therefore reaſon to think, that thoſe found at the Nachitoches have acquired their good quality only by the diſcharge of their ſalts, from continuing for ſo many ages out of the ſea.

If we may give credit to the tradition of theſe people, and if we would reaſon on the facts I have advanced, we ſhall be naturally led to believe, and indeed every thing in this country ſhews it, that the Lower Louiſiana is a country gained on the ſea, whoſe bottom is a cryſtal ſand, white as ſnow, fine as flour, and ſuch as is found both to the eaſt and weſt of the Miſſiſippi; and we may expect, that in future ages the ſea and river may form another land like that of the Lower Louiſiana. The Fort Baliſe ſhews that a century is ſufficient to extend Louiſiana two leagues towards the ſea.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

The Author's Journey in Louiſiana, *from the* Natchez *to the River* St. Francis, *and the Country of the* Chicaſaws.

EVER ſince my arrival in Louiſiana, I made it my buſineſs to get information in whatever was new therein, and to make diſcoveries of ſuch things as might be ſerviceable to ſociety. I therefore reſolved to take a journey through the country. And after leaving my plantation to the care of my friends and neighbours, I prepared for a journey into the interior parts of the province, in order to learn the nature of the ſoil, its various productions, and to make diſcoveries not mentioned by others.

I wanted to travel both for my own inſtruction, and for the benefit of the publick: but at the ſame time I deſired to be alone, without any of my own countrymen with me; who, as they neither have patience, nor are made for fatigue, would be ever teazing me to return again, and not readily take up either with the fare or accommodations, to be met with on ſuch a journey. I therefore pitched upon ten Indians, who were indefatigable, robuſt, and tractable, and ſufficiently ſkilled in hunting, a qualification neceſſary on ſuch journeys. I explained to them my whole deſign; told them, we ſhould avoid paſſing through any inhabited countries, and would take our journeys through ſuch as were unknown and uninhabited; becauſe I travelled in order to diſcover what no one before could inform me about. This explication pleaſed them; and on their part they promiſed, I ſhould have no reaſon to be diſſatisfied with them. But they objected, they were under apprehenſions of loſing themſelves in countries they did not know. To remove theſe apprehenſions, I ſhewed them a mariner's compaſs, which removed

moved all their difficulties, after I had explained to them the manner of uſing it, in order to avoid loſing our way.

We ſet out in the month of September, which is the beſt ſeaſon of the year for beginning a journey in this country: in the firſt place, becauſe, during the ſummer, the graſs is too high for travelling; whereas in the month of September, the meadows, the graſs of which is then dry, are ſet on fire, and the ground becomes ſmooth, and eaſy to walk on: and hence it is, that at this time, clouds of ſmoke are ſeen for ſeveral days together to extend over a long track of country; ſometimes to the extent of between twenty and thirty leagues in length, by two or three leagues in breadth, more or leſs, according as the wind ſets, and is higher or lower. In the ſecond place, this ſeaſon is the moſt commodious for travelling over thoſe countries; becauſe, by means of the rain, which ordinarily falls after the graſs is burnt, the game ſpread themſelves all over the meadows, and delight to feed on the new graſs; which is the reaſon why travellers more eaſily find proviſions at this time than at any other. What beſides facilitates theſe excurſions in Autumn, or in the beginning of Winter, is, that all works in the fields are then at an end, or at leaſt the hurry of them is over.

For the firſt days of our journey the game was pretty rare, becauſe they ſhun the neighbourhood of men; if you except the deer, which are ſpread all over the country, their nature being to roam indifferently up and down; ſo that at firſt we were obliged to put up with this fare. We often met with flights of partridges, which the natives cannot kill, becauſe they cannot ſhoot flying; I killed ſome for a change. The ſecond day I had a turkey-hen brought to regale me. The diſcoverer, who killed it, told me, there were a great many in the ſame place, but that he could do nothing without a dog. I have often heard of a turkey-chace, but never had an opportunity of being at

at one: I went with him and took my dog along with me. On coming to the ſpot, we ſoon deſcried the hens, which ran off with ſuch ſpeed, that the ſwifteſt Indian would loſe his labour in attempting to outrun them. My dog ſoon came up with them, which made them take to their wings, and perch on the next trees; as long as they are not purſued in this manner, they only run, and are ſoon out of ſight. I came near their place of retreat, killed the largeſt, a ſecond, and my diſcoverer a third. We might have killed the whole flock; for, while they ſee any men, they never quit the tree they have once perched on. Shooting ſcares them not, as they only look at the bird that drops, and ſet up a timorous cry, as he falls.

Before I proceed, it is proper to ſay a word concerning my diſcoverers, or ſcouts. I had always three of them out, one a-head, and one on each hand of me; commonly diſtant a league from me, and as much from each other. Their condition of ſcouts prevented not their carrying each his bed, and proviſions for thirty-ſix hours upon occaſion. Though thoſe near my own perſon were more loaded, I however ſent them out, ſometimes one, ſometimes another, either to a neighbouring mountain or valley: ſo that I had three or four at leaſt, both on my right and left, who went out to make diſcoveries a ſmall diſtance off. I did thus, in order to have nothing to reproach myſelf with, in point of vigilance, ſince I had begun to take the trouble of making diſcoveries.

The next buſineſs was, to make ourſelves mutually underſtood, notwithſtanding our diſtance: we agreed, therefore, on certain ſignals, which are abſolutely neceſſary on ſuch occaſions. Every day, at nine in the morning, at noon, and at three in the afternoon, we made a ſmoke. This ſignal was the hour marked for making a ſhort halt, in order to know, whether the ſcouts followed each other, and whether they were nearly at

the diſtance agreed on. Theſe ſmokes were made at the hours I mentioned, which are the diviſions of the day according to the Indians. They divide their day into four equal parts; the firſt contains the half of the morning; the ſecond is at noon; the third comprizes the half of the afternoon; and the fourth, the other half of the afternoon to the evening. It was according to this uſage our ſignals were mutually made, by which we regulated our courſe, and places of rendezvous.

We marched for ſome days without finding any thing which could either engage my attention, or ſatisfy my curioſity. True it is, this was ſufficiently made up in another reſpect; as we travelled over a charming country, which might juſtly furniſh our painters of the fineſt imagination with genuine notions of landſkips. Mine, I own, was highly delighted with the ſight of fine plains, diverſified with very extenſive and highly delightful meadows. The plains were intermixed with thickets, planted by the hand of Nature herſelf; and interſperſed with hills, runing off in gentle declivities, and with valleys, thick ſet, and adorned with woods, which ſerve for a retreat to the moſt timorous animals, as the thickets ſcreen the buffaloes from the abundant dews of the country.

I longed much to kill a buffalo with my own hand; I therefore told my people my intention to kill one of the firſt herd we ſhould meet; nor did a day paſs, in which we did not ſee ſeveral herds; the leaſt of which exceeded a hundred and thirty or a hundred and fifty in number.

Next morning we eſpied a herd of upwards of two hundred. The wind ſtood as I could have wiſhed, being in our faces, and blowing from the herd; which is a great advantage in this chace; becauſe when the wind blows from you towards the buffaloes, they come to ſcent you, and run away, before you can come within gunſhot of them; whereas, when the wind blows from them

on

on the hunters, they do not fly till they can diſtinguiſh you by ſight: and then, what greatly favours your coming very near to them is, that the curled hair, which falls down between their horns upon their eyes, is ſo buſhy, as greatly to confuſe their ſight. In this manner I came within full gun-ſhot of them, pitched upon one of the fatteſt, ſhot him at the extremity of the ſhoulder, and brought him down ſtone-dead. The natives, who ſtood looking on, were ready to fire, had I happened to wound him but ſlightly; for in that caſe, theſe animals are apt to turn upon the hunter, who thus wounds them.

Upon ſeeing the buffalo drop down dead, and the reſt taking to flight, the natives told me, with a ſmile: "You "kill the males, do you intend to make tallow?" I anſwered, I did it on purpoſe, to ſhew them the manner of making him good meat, though a male. I cauſed his belly to be opened quite warm, the entrails to be taken out directly, the bunch, tongue, and chines to be cut out; one of the chines to be laid on the coals, of which I made them all taſte; and they all agreed the meat was juicy, and of an exquiſite flavour.

I then took occaſion to remonſtrate to them, that if, inſtead of killing the cows, as was always their cuſtom, they killed the bulls, the difference in point of profit would be very conſiderable: as, for inſtance, a good commerce with the French in tallow, with which the bulls abound; bull's fleſh is far more delicate and tender than cow's; a third advantage is, the ſelling of the ſkins at a higher rate, as being much better; in fine, this kind of game, ſo advantageous to the country, would thereby eſcape being quite deſtroyed; whereas, by killing the cows, the breed of theſe animals is greatly impaired.

I made a ſoup, that was of an exquiſite flavour, but ſomewhat fat, of the broth boiled from the marrow-bones of

of this buffalo, the reſt of the broth ſerving to make maiz-gruel, called Sagamity, which to my taſte ſurpaſſed the beſt diſh in France: the bunch on the back would have graced the table of a prince.

In the route I held, I kept more on the ſides of the hills than on the plains. Above ſome of theſe ſides, or declivities, I found, in ſome places, little eminences, which lay peeled, or bare, and diſcloſed a firm and compact clay, or pure matrix, and of the ſpecies of that of Lapis Calaminaris. The intelligent in Mineralogy underſtand what I would be at. The little graſs, which grows there, was obſerved to droop, as alſo three or four miſhapen trees, no bigger than one's leg; one of which I cauſed to be cut down; when, to my aſtoniſhment, I ſaw it was upwards of ſixty years ſtanding. The neighbouring country was fertile, in proportion to its diſtance from this ſpot. Near that place we ſaw game of every kind, and in plenty, and never towards the ſummit.

We croſſed the Miſſiſippi ſeveral times upon Cajeux, (rafts, or floats, made of ſeveral bundles of canes, laid acroſs each other; a kind of extemporaneous pontoon,) in order to take a view of mountains which had raiſed my curioſity. I obſerved, that both ſides of the river had their ſeveral advantages; but that the Weſt ſide is better watered; appeared alſo to be more fruitful both in minerals, and in what relates to agriculture; for which laſt it ſeems much more adapted than the Eaſt ſide.

Notwithſtanding our precaution to make ſignals, one of my ſcouts happened one day to ſtray, becauſe the weather was foggy; ſo that he did not return at night to our hut; at which I was very uneaſy, and could not ſleep; as he was not returned, though the ſignals of call had been repeated till night cloſed. About nine the next morning he caſt up, telling us he had been in purſuit of a drove of deer, which were led by one that was altogether white:

white: but that not being able to come up with them, he picked up, on the ſide of a hill, ſome ſmall ſharp ſtones, of which he brought a ſample.

Theſe ſtones I received with pleaſure, becauſe I had not yet ſeen any in all this country, only a hard red free-ſtone in a cliff on the Miſſiſippi. After carefully examining thoſe which my diſcoverer brought me, I found they were a gypſum. I took home ſome pieces, and on my return examined them more attentively; found them to be very clear, tranſparent, and friable; when calcined, they turned extremely white, and with them I made ſome factitious marble. This gave me hopes that this country, producing Plaſter of Paris, might, beſides, have ſtones for building.

I wanted to ſee the ſpot myſelf: we ſet out about noon, and travelled for about three leagues before we came to it. I examined the ſpot, which to me appeared to be a large quarry of Plaſter.

As to the white deer above mentioned, I learned from the Indians, that ſome ſuch were to be met with, though but rarely, and that only in countries not frequented by the hunters.

The wind being ſet in for rain, we reſolved to put ourſelves under ſhelter. The place where the bad weather overtook us was very fit to ſet up at. On going out to hunt, we diſcovered at five hundred paces off, in the defile, or narrow paſs, a brook of a very clear water, a very commodious watering-place for the buffaloes, which were in great numbers all around us.

My companions ſoon raiſed a cabin, well-ſecured to the North. As we reſolved to continue there for eight days at leaſt, they made it ſo cloſe as to keep out the cold: in the night, I felt nothing of the ſeverity of the North wind, though I lay but lightly covered. My bed conſiſted of a bear's ſkin, and two robes or coats of buffalo; the bear ſkin, with the fleſh ſide undermoſt, being laid on leaves,

leaves, and the pile uppermoſt by way of ſtraw-bed; one of the buffalo coats folded double by way of feather-bed; one half of the other under me ſerved for a matraſs, and the other over me for a coverlet: three canes, or boughs, bent to a ſemicircle, one at the head, another in the middle, and a third at the feet, ſupported a cloth which formed my teſter and curtains, and ſecured me from the injuries of the air, and the ſtings of gnats and moſkitto's. My Indians had their ordinary hunting and travelling beds, which conſiſt of a deer ſkin and a buffalo coat, which they always carry with them, when they expect to lie out of their villages. We reſted nine days, and regaled ourſelves with choice buffalo, turkey, partridge, pheaſants, &c.

The diſcovery I had made of the plaſter, put me to look out, during our ſtay, in all the places round about, for many leagues. I was at laſt tired of beating about ſuch fine plains, without diſcovering the leaſt thing, and I had reſolved to go far to the North, when at the noon-ſignal the ſcout a-head waited to ſhew me a ſhining and ſharp ſtone, of the length and ſize of one's thumb, and as ſquare as a joiner could have made a piece of wood of the ſame bigneſs. I imagined it might be rock-cryſtal; to be aſſured thereof, I took a large muſquet flint in my left hand, preſenting its head, or thick end, on which I ſtruck with one of the edges of the cryſtal, and drew much more fire than with the fineſt ſteel: and notwithſtanding the many ſtrokes I gave, the piece of cryſtal was not in the leaſt ſcratched or ſtreaked.

I examined theſe ſtones, and found pieces of different magnitudes, ſome ſquare, others with ſix faces, even and ſmooth like mirrors, highly tranſparent, without any veins or ſpots. Some of theſe pieces jutted out of the earth, like ends of beams, two feet and upwards in length; others in conſiderable numbers, from ſeven to nine inches; above

above all, thoſe with ſix panes or faces. There was a great number of a middling and ſmaller ſort: my people wanted to carry ſome with them; but I diſſuaded them. My reaſon was, I apprehended ſome Frenchman might by preſents prevail on them to diſcover the place.

For my part, I carefully obſerved the latitude, and followed, on ſetting out, a particular point of the compaſs, to come to a river which I knew. I took that route, under pretence of going to a certain nation to procure dry proviſions, which we were in want of, and which are of great help on a journey.

We arrived, after ſeven days march, at that nation, by whom we were well received. My hunters brought in daily many duck and teal. I agreed with the natives of the place for a large pettyaugre of black walnut, to go down their river, and afterwards to go up the Miſſiſippi.

I had a ſtrong inclination to go up ſtill higher north, in order to diſcover mines. We embarked, and the eleventh day of our paſſage I cauſed the pettyaugre to be unladen of every thing, and concealed in the water, which was then low. I loaded ſeven men with the things we had.

Matters thus ordered, we ſet out according to the intention I had to go to the northward. I obſerved every day, with new pleaſure, the more we advanced to that quarter, the more beautiful and fertile the country was, abounding in game of every kind: the herds of deer are numerous; at every turn we meet with them; and not a day paſſed without ſeeing herds of buffaloes, ſometimes five or ſix, of upwards of an hundred in a drove.

In ſuch journeys as theſe we always take up our night's lodging near wood and water, where we put up in good time: then at ſun-ſet, when every thing in nature is huſhed, we were charmed with the enchanting warbling of different birds; ſo that one would be inclined to ſay, they

reſerved

reſerved this favourable moment for the melody and harmony of their ſong, to celebrate, undiſturbed and at their eaſe, the benefits of the Creator. On the other hand, we are diſturbed in the night, by the hideous noiſe of the numberleſs water-fowls that are to be ſeen on the Miſſiſippi, and every river or lake near it, ſuch as cranes, flamingo's, wild geeſe, herons, ſaw-bills, ducks, &c.

As we proceeded further north, we began to ſee flocks of ſwans roam through the air, mount out of ſight, and proclaim their paſſage by their piercing ſhrill cries. We for ſome days followed the courſe of a river, at the head of which we found, in a very retired place, a beaver-dam.

We ſet up our hut within reach of this retreat, or village of beavers, but at ſuch a diſtance, as that they could not obſerve our fire. I put my people on their guard againſt making any noiſe, or firing their pieces, for fear of ſcaring thoſe animals; and thought it even neceſſary to forbid them to cut any wood, the better to conceal ourſelves.

After taking all theſe precautions, we roſe and were on foot againſt the time of moonſhine, poſted ourſelves in a place as diſtant from the huts of the beavers, as from the cauſey or bank, which dammed up the waters of the place where they were. I took my fuſil and pouch, according to my cuſtom of never travelling without them. But each Indian was only to take with him a little hatchet, which all travellers in this country carry with them. I took the oldeſt of my retinue, after having pointed out to the others the place of ambuſh, and the manner in which the branches of trees we had cut were to be ſet to cover us. I then went towards the middle of the dam, with my old man, who had his hatchet, and ordered him ſoftly to make a gutter or trench, a foot wide, which he began on the outſide of the cauſey or dam, croſſing it quite to the water. This he did by removing the earth with his hands.

hands. As ſoon as the gutter was finiſhed, and the water ran into it, we ſpeedily, and without any noiſe, retired to our place of ambuſh, in order to obſerve the behaviour of the beavers in repairing this breach.

A little after we were got behind our ſcreen of boughs, we heard the water of the gutter begin to make a noiſe: and a moment after, a beaver came out of his hut and plunged into the water. We could only know this by the noiſe, but we ſaw him at once upon the bank or dam, and diſtinctly perceived that he took a ſurvey of the gutter, after which he inſtantly gave with all his force four blows with his tail; and had ſcarce ſtruck the fourth, but all the beavers threw themſelves pell-mell into the water, and came upon the dam: when they were all come thither, one of them muttered and mumbled to the reſt (who all ſtood very attentive) I know not what orders, but which they doubtleſs underſtood well, becauſe they inſtantly departed, and went out on the banks of the pond, one party one way; another, another way. Thoſe next us were between us and the dam, and we at the proper diſtance not to be ſeen, and to obſerve them. Some of them made mortar, others carried it on their tails, which ſerved for ſledges. I obſerved they put themſelves two and two, ſide by ſide, the one with his head to the other's tail, and thus mutually loaded each other, and trailed the mortar, which was pretty ſtiff, quite to the dam, where others remained to take it, put it into the gutter, and rammed it with blows of their tails.

The noiſe which the water made before by its fall, ſoon ceaſed, and the breach was cloſed in a ſhort time: upon which one of the beavers ſtruck two great blows with his tail, and inſtantly they all took to the water without any noiſe, and diſappeared. We retired, in order to take a little reſt in our hut, where we remained till day; but as ſoon as it appeared, I longed much to ſatisfy my curioſity about theſe creatures.

My

My people together made a pretty large and deep breach, in order to view the conſtruction of the dam, which I ſhall deſcribe preſently: we then made noiſe enough without further ceremony. This noiſe, and the water, which the beavers obſerved ſoon to lower, gave them much uneaſineſs; ſo that I ſaw one of them at different times come pretty near to us, in order to examine what paſſed.

As I apprehended that when the water was run off they would all take flight to the woods, we quitted the breach, and went to conceal ourſelves all round the pond, in order to kill only one, the more narrowly to examine it; eſpecially as theſe beavers were of the grey kind, which are not ſo common as the brown.

One of the beavers ventured to go upon the breach, after having ſeveral times approached it, and returned again like a ſpy. I lay in ambuſh in the bottom, at the end of the dam: I ſaw him return; he ſurveyed the breach, then ſtruck four blows, which ſaved his life, for I then aimed at him. But theſe four blows, ſo well ſtruck, made me judge it was the ſignal of call for all the reſt, juſt as the night before. This alſo made me think he might be the overſeer of the works, and I did not chooſe to deprive the republic of beavers of a member who appeared ſo neceſſary to it. I therefore waited till others ſhould appear: a little after, one came and paſſed cloſe by me, in order to go to work; I made no ſcruple to lay him at his full length, on the perſuaſion he might only be a common labourer. My ſhot made them all return to their cabins, with greater ſpeed than a hundred blows of the tail of their Overſeer could have done. As ſoon as I had killed this beaver, I called my companions; and finding the water did not run off quick enough, I cauſed the breach to be widened, and I examined the dead.

I obſerved theſe beavers to be a third leſs than the brown or common ſort, but their make the ſame; having the ſame head, ſame ſharp teeth, ſame beards, legs as ſhort,

paws

paws equally furniſhed with claws, and with membranes or webs, and in all reſpects made like the others. The only difference is, that they are of an aſh-grey, and that the long pile, which paſſes over the ſoft wool, is ſilvered, or whitiſh.

During this examination, I cauſed my people to cut boughs, canes, and reeds, to be thrown in towards the end of the pond, in order to paſs over the little mud which was in that place; and at the ſame time I cauſed ſome ſhot to be fired on the cabins that lay neareſt us. The report of the guns, and the rattling of the ſhot on the roofs of the cabins, made them all fly into the woods with the greateſt precipitation imaginable. We came at length to a cabin, in which there were not ſix inches of water. I cauſed to undo the roof without breaking any thing, during which I ſaw the piece of aſpin-tree, which was laid under the cabin for their proviſions.

I obſerved fifteen pieces of wood, with their bark in part gnawed. The cabin alſo had fifteen cells round the hole in the middle, at which they went out; which made me think each had his own cell.

I am now to give a ſketch of the architecture of theſe amphibious animals, and an account of their villages; it is thus I call the place of their abode, after the Canadians and the Indians, with whom I agree; and allow, theſe animals deſerve ſo much the more to be diſtinguiſhed from others, as I find their inſtinct far ſuperior to that of other animals. I ſhall not carry the parallel any farther, it might become offenſive.

The cabins of the beavers are round, having about ten or twelve feet in diameter, according to the number, more or leſs, of fixed inhabitants. I mean, that this diameter is to be taken on the flooring at about a foot above the water, when it is even with the dam: but as the upper part runs to a point, the under is much larger than the flooring, which we may repreſent to ourſelves, by

ſuppoſing all the upright poſts to reſemble the legs of a great A, whoſe middle ſtroke is the flooring. Theſe poſts are picked out, and we might ſay, well proportioned, ſeeing, at the height this flooring is to be laid at, there is a hook for bearing bars, which by that means form the circumference of the flooring. The bars again bear traverſes, or croſs pieces of timber, which are the joiſts; canes and graſs complete this flooring, which has a hole in the middle to go out at, when they pleaſe, and into this all the cells open.

The dam is formed of timbers, in the ſhape of St. Andrew's croſs, or of a great X, laid cloſe together, and kept firm by timbers laid lengthwiſe, which are continued from one end of the dam to the other, and placed on the St. Andrew's croſſes: the whole is filled with earth, clapped cloſe by great blows of their tails. The inſide of the dam, next the water, is almoſt perpendicular; but on the outſide it has a great ſlope, that graſs coming to grow thereon, may prevent the water that paſſes there, to carry away the earth.

I ſaw them neither cut nor convey the timbers along, but it is to be preſumed their manner is the ſame as that of other Beavers, who never cut but a ſoft wood; for which purpoſe they uſe their fore-teeth, which are extremely ſharp. Theſe timbers they puſh and roll before them on the land, as they do on the water, till they come to the place where they want to lay them. I obſerved theſe grey Beavers to be more chilly, or ſenſible of cold, than the other ſpecies: and it is doubtleſs for this reaſon they draw nearer to the ſouth.

We ſet out from this place to come to a high ground, which ſeemed to be continued to a great diſtance. We came the ſame evening to the foot of it, but the day was too far advanced to aſcend it. The day following we went to its top, found it a flat, except ſome ſmall eminences at intervals. There appeared to be very little wood

wood on it, ſtill leſs water, and leaſt of all ſtone; though probably there may be ſome in its bowels, having obſerved ſome ſtones in a part where the earth was tumbled down.

We accurately examined all this riſing ground, without diſcovering any thing; and though that day we travelled upwards of five leagues, yet we were not three leagues diſtant from the hut we ſet out from in the morning. This high ground would have been a very commodious ſituation for a fine palace; as from its edges is a very diſtant proſpect.

Next day, after a ramble of about two leagues and a half, I had the ſignal of call to my right. I inſtantly flew thither; and when I came, the ſcout ſhewed me a ſtump ſticking out of the earth knee high, and nine inches in diameter. The Indian took it at a diſtance for the ſtump of a tree, and was ſurpriſed to find wood cut in a country which appeared to have been never frequented: but when he came near enough to form a judgement about it, he ſaw from the figure, that it was a very different thing: and this was the reaſon he made the ſignal of call.

I was highly pleaſed at this diſcovery, which was that of a lead-ore. I had alſo the ſatisfaction to find my perſeverance recompenſed; but in particular I was raviſhed with admiration, on ſeeing this wonderful production, and the power of the ſoil of this province, conſtraining, as it were, the minerals to diſcloſe themſelves. I continued to ſearch all around, and I diſcovered ore in ſeveral places. We returned to lodge at our laſt hut, on account of the convenience of water, which was too ſcarce on this high ground.

We ſet out from thence, in order to come nearer to the Miſſiſippi: through every place we paſſed, nothing but herds of buffaloes, elk, deer, and other animals of every kind, were to be ſeen; eſpecially near rivers and brooks.

Bears, on the other hand, keep in the thick woods, where they find their proper food.

After a march of five days I eſpied a mountain to my right, which ſeemed ſo high as to excite my curioſity. Next morning I directed thither my courſe, where we arrived about three in the afternoon. We ſtopped at the foot of the mountain, where we found a fine ſpring iſſuing out of the rock.

The day following we went up to its top, where it is ſtony. Though there is earth enough for plants, yet they are ſo thin ſown, that hardly two hundred could be found on an acre of ground. Trees are alſo very rare on that ſpot, and theſe poor, meagre, and cancerous. The ſtones I found there are all fit for making lime.

We from thence took the route that ſhould carry us to our pettyaugre, a journey but of a few days. We drew the pettyaugre out of the water, and there paſſed the night. Next day we croſſed the Miſſiſippi; in going up which we killed a ſhe-bear, with her cubs: for during the winter, the banks of the Miſſiſippi are lined with them; and it is rare, in going up the river, not to ſee many croſs it in a day, in ſearch of food: the want of which makes them quit the banks.

I continued my route in going up the Miſſiſippi quite to the Chicaſaw Cliffs, (Ecores à Prud'homme) where I was told I ſhould find ſomething for the benefit of the colony: this was what excited my curioſity.

Being arrived at thoſe cliffs we landed, and concealed, after unlading it, the pettyaugre in the water; and from that day I ſought, and at length found the iron-mine, of which I had ſome hints given me. After being ſure of this, I carefully ſearched all around, to find Caſtine: but this was impoſſible: however, I believe it may be found higher up in aſcending the Miſſiſippi, but that care I leave to thoſe who hereafter ſhall chooſe to undertake the work-

ing

ing that mine. I had, however, ſome amends made me for my trouble; as in ſearching, I found ſome marks of pit-coal in the neighbourhood, a thing at leaſt as uſeful in other parts of the colony as in this.

After having made my reflections, I reſolved in a little time to return home; but being loth to leave ſo fine a country, I penetrated a little farther into it; and in this ſhort excurſion I eſpied a ſmall hill, all bare and parched, having on its top only two trees in a very drooping condition, and ſcarce any graſs, beſides ſome little tufts, diſtant enough aſunder, which grew on a very firm clay. The bottom of this hill was not ſo barren, and the adjacent country fertile as in other parts. Theſe indications made me preſume there might be a mine in that ſpot.

I at length returned towards the Miſſiſippi, in order to meet again the pettyaugre. As in all this country, and in all the height of the colony we find numbers of buffaloes, elk, deer, and other game; ſo we find numbers of wolves, ſome tigers, Cat-a-mounts, (Pichous) and carrion-crows, all of them carnivorous animals, which I ſhall hereafter deſcribe. When we came near the Miſſiſippi we made the ſignal of recognition, which was anſwered, though at ſome diſtance. It was there my people killed ſome buffaloes, to be dreſſed and cured in their manner, for our journey. We embarked at length, and went down the Miſſiſippi, till we came within a league of the common landing-place. The Indians hid the pettyaugre, and went to their village. As for myſelf, I got home towards duſk, where I found my neighbours and ſlaves ſurprized, and at the ſame time glad, at my unexpected return, as if it had been from a hunting-match in the neighbourhood.

I was really well pleaſed to have got home, to ſee my ſlaves in perfect health, and all my affairs in good order: But I was ſtrongly impreſſed with the beauties of the

countries I had ſeen. I could have wiſhed to end my days in thoſe charming ſolitudes, at a diſtance from the tumultuous hurry of the world, far from the pinching gripe of avarice and deceit. There it is, ſaid I to myſelf, one reliſhes a thouſand innocent delights, and which are repeated with a ſatisfaction ever new. It is there one lives exempt from the aſſaults of cenſure, detraction, and calumny. In thoſe delightſome meadows, which often extend far out of ſight, and where we ſee ſo many different ſpecies of animals, there it is we have occaſion to admire the beneficence of the Creator. To conclude, there it is, that at the gentle purling of a pure and living water, and enchanted with the concerts of birds, which fill the neighbouring thickets, we may agreeably contemplate the wonders of nature, and examine them all at our leiſure.

I had reaſons for concealing my journey, and ſtronger reaſons ſtill to ſuppreſs what I had diſcovered, in order to avail myſelf thereof afterwards: but the croſſes I underwent, and the misfortunes of my life, have, to this day, prevented me from profiting by theſe diſcoveries, in returning to that charming country, and even ſo much as to lay them before the public.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of the Nature of the Lands of Louiſiana. *The Lands on the Coaſt.*

IN order to deſcribe the nature of this country with ſome method, I ſhall firſt ſpeak of the place we land at, and ſhall therefore begin with the coaſt: I ſhall then go up the Miſſiſippi; the reverſe of what I did in the Geographical Deſcription, in which I deſcribed that river from its ſource down to its mouth.

The coaſt, which was the firſt inhabited, extends from Rio Perdido to the lake of St. Louis: this ground is a very fine ſand, white as ſnow, and ſo dry, as not to be fit to produce any thing but pine, cedar, and ſome ever-green oaks.

The river Mobile is the moſt conſiderable of that coaſt to the eaſt *. It rolls its waters over a pure ſand, which cannot make it muddy. But if this water is clear, it partakes of the ſterility of its bottom, ſo that it is far from abounding ſo much in fiſh as the Miſſiſippi. Its banks and neighbourhood are not very fertile from its ſource down to the ſea. The ground is ſtony, and ſcarce any thing but gravel, mixt with a little earth. Though theſe lands are not quite barren, there is a wide difference between their productions and thoſe of the lands in the neighbourhood of the Miſſiſippi. Mountains there are, but whether ſtone fit for building, I know not.

In the confines of the river of the Alibamous (Creeks) the lands are better: the river falls into the Mobile, above the bay of the ſame name. This bay may be about thirty leagues in length, after having received the Mobile, which runs from north to ſouth for about one hundred

* This river, which they call Mobile, and which after the rains of winter is a fine river in ſpring, is but a brook in ſummer, eſpecially towards its ſource. *Dumont*, II. 228.

and fifty leagues. On the banks of this river was the firſt ſettlement of the French in Louiſiana, which ſtood till New Orleans was founded, which is at this day the capital of the colony.

The lands and water of the Mobile are not only unfruitful in all kinds of vegetables and fiſh, but the nature of the waters and the ſoil contributes alſo to prevent the multiplication of animals; even women have experienced this. I underſtood by Madam Hubert, whoſe huſband was at my arrival Commiſſary Director of the colony, that in the time the French were in that poſt, there were ſeven or eight barren women, who all became fruitful, after ſettling with their huſbands on the banks of the Miſſiſippi, where the capital was built, and whither the ſettlement was removed.

Fort St. Louis of Mobile was the French poſt. This fort ſtands on the banks of that river, near another ſmall river, called Dog River, which falls into the bay to the ſouth of the fort.

Though theſe countries are not ſo fertile as thoſe in the neighbourhood of the Miſſiſippi; we are, however, to obſerve, that the interior parts of the country are much better than thoſe near the ſea.

On the coaſt to the weſt of Mobile, we find iſlands not worth mentioning.

From the ſources of the river of the Paſka-Ogoulas, quite to thoſe of the river of Quefonćté, which falls into the lake of St. Louis, the lands are light and fertile, but ſomething gravelly, on account of the neighbourhood of the mountains that lie to the north. This country is intermixt with extenſive hills, fine meadows, numbers of thickets, and ſometimes with woods, thick ſet with cane, particularly on the banks of rivers and brooks; and is extremely proper for agriculture.

The mountains which I ſaid theſe countries have to the north, form nearly the figure of a chaplet, with one end pretty near the Miſſiſippi, the other on the banks of the Mobile. The inner part of this chaplet or chain is filled with hills; which are pretty fertile in graſs, ſimples, fruits of the country, horſe-cheſnuts, and wild-cheſnuts, as large, and at leaſt as good as thoſe of Lyons.

To the north of this chain of mountains lies the country of the Chicaſaws, very fine and free of mountains: it has only very extenſive and gentle eminences, or riſing grounds, fertile groves and meadows, which in ſpring-time are all over red, from the great plenty of wood ſtrawberries: in ſummer, the plains exhibit the moſt beautiful enamel, by the quantity and variety of the flowers: in autumn, after the ſetting fire to the graſs, they are covered with muſhrooms.

All the countries I have juſt mentioned are ſtored with game of every kind. The buffalo is found on the moſt riſing grounds; the partridge in thick open woods, ſuch as the groves in meadows; the elks delight in large foreſts, as alſo the pheaſant; the deer, which is a roving animal, is every where to be met with, becauſe in whatever place it may happen to be, it always has ſomething to browſe on. The ring-dove here flies in winter with ſuch rapidity, as to paſs over a great deal of country in a few hours; ducks and other aquatick game are in ſuch numbers, that wherever there is water, we are ſure to find many more than it is poſſible for us to ſhoot, were we to do nothing elſe; and thus we find game in every place, and fiſh in plenty in the rivers.

Let us reſume the coaſt; which, though flat and dry, on account of its ſand, abounds with delicious fiſh, and excellent ſhell-fiſh. But the cryſtal ſand, which is pernicious to the ſight by its whiteneſs, might it not be adapted for making ſome beautiful compoſition or manufacture?

facture? Here I leave the learned to find out what uſe this ſand may be of.

If this coaſt is flat, it has in this reſpect an advantage; as we might ſay, Nature wanted to make it ſo, in order to be ſelf-defended againſt the deſcent of an enemy.

Coming out of the Bay of Paſka-Ogoulas, if we ſtill proceed weſt, we meet in our way with the Bay of Old Biloxi, where a fort was built, and a ſettlement begun; but a great fire, ſpread by a violent wind, deſtroyed it in a few moments, which in prudence ought never to have been built at all.

Thoſe who ſettled at Old Biloxi could not, doubtleſs, think of quitting the ſea-coaſt. They ſettled to the weſt, cloſe to New-Biloxi, on a ſand equally dry and pernicious to the ſight. In this place the large grants happened to be laid off, which were extremely inconvenient to have been made on ſo barren a ſoil; where it was impoſſible to find the leaſt plant or greens for any money, and where the hired ſervants died with hunger in the moſt fertile colony in the whole world.

In purſuing the ſame route and the ſame coaſt weſtward, the lands are ſtill the ſame, quite to the ſmall Bay of St. Louis, and to the Channels, which lead to the lake of that name. At a diſtance from the ſea the earth is of a good quality, fit for agriculture; as being a light ſoil, but ſomething gravelly. The coaſt to the north of the Bay of St. Louis is of a different nature, and much more fertile. The lands at a greater diſtance to the north of this laſt coaſt, are not very diſtant from the Miſſiſippi; they are alſo much more fruitful than thoſe to the eaſt of this bay in the ſame latitude.

In order to follow the ſea-coaſt down to the mouth of the Miſſiſippi, we muſt proceed almoſt ſouth, quitting the Channels. I have elſewhere mentioned, that we have to paſs between Cat-Iſland, which we leave to the left, and Cockle-Iſland, which we leave to the right. In making this

this ideal route, we paſs over banks almoſt level with the water, covered with a vaſt number of iſlets; we leave to the left the Candlemas-Iſles, which are only heaps of ſand, having the form of a gut cut in pieces; they riſe but little above the ſea, and ſcarcely yield a dozen of plants, juſt as in the neighbouring iſlets I have now mentioned. We leave to the right lake Borgne, which is another outlet of the lake St. Louis, and continuing the ſame route by ſeveral outlets for a conſiderable way, we find a little open clear ſea, and the coaſt to the right, which is but a quagmire, gradually formed by a very ſoft ooze, on which ſome reeds grow. This coaſt leads ſoon to the Eaſt Paſs or channel, which is one of the mouths of the Miſſiſippi, and this we find bordered with a like ſoil, if indeed it deſerves the name of ſoil.

There is, moreover, the South-eaſt Paſs, where ſtands Baliſe, and the South Paſs, which projects farther into the ſea. Baliſe is a fort built on an iſland of ſand, ſecured by a great number of piles bound with good timber-work. There are lodgings in it for the officers and the garriſon; and a ſufficient number of guns for defending the entrance of the Miſſiſippi. It is there they take the bar-pilot on board, in order to bring the ſhips into the river. All the paſſes and entrances of the Miſſiſippi are as frightful to the eye, as the interior part of the colony is delightful to it.

The quagmires continue ſtill for about ſeven leagues going up the Miſſiſippi, at the entrance of which we meet a bar, three fourths of a league broad: which we cannot paſs without the bar-pilot, who alone is acquainted with the channel.

All the weſt coaſt reſembles that which I mentioned, from Mobile to the bay of St. Louis; it is equally flat, formed of a like ſand, and a bar of iſles, which lengthen out the coaſt, and hinder a deſcent; the coaſt continues thus, going weſtward, quite to Aſcenſion Bay, and even a little

a little farther. Its ſoil alſo is barren, and in every reſpect like to that I have juſt mentioned.

I again enter the Miſſiſippi, and paſs with ſpeed over theſe quagmires, incapable to bear up the traveller, and which only afford a retreat to gnats and moſkittos, and to ſome water-fowl, which, doubtleſs, find food to live on, and that in ſecurity.

On coming out of theſe marſhes, we find a neck of land on each ſide of the Miſſiſippi; this indeed is firm land, but lined with marſhes, reſembling thoſe at the entrance of the river. For the ſpace of three or four leagues, this neck of land is at firſt bare of trees, but comes after to be covered with them, ſo as to intercept the winds, which the ſhips require, in order to go up the river to the capital. This land, though very narrow, is continued, together with the trees it bears, quite to the Engliſh Reach, which is defended by two forts; one to the right, the other to the left of the Miſſiſippi.

The origin of the name, Engliſh Reach, (Detour aux Anglois) is differently aſſigned. I made enquiry of the oldeſt of the country, to what circumſtance this Reach might owe its name. And they told me, that before the firſt ſettlement of the French in this colony, the Engliſh, having heard of the beauty of the country, which they had, doubtleſs, viſited before, in going thither from Carolina by land, attempted to make themſelves maſters of the entrance of the Miſſiſippi, and to go up the river, in order to fortify themſelves on the firſt firm ground they could meet. Excited by that jealouſy which is natural to them, they took ſuch precautions as they imagined to be proper, in order to ſucceed.

The Indians on their part, who had already ſeen or heard of ſeveral people (French) having gone up and down the Miſſiſippi at different times; the Indians, I ſay, who, perhaps, were not ſo well pleaſed with ſuch neighbours, were ſtill more frightened at ſeeing a ſhip enter the river,

river, which determined them to ſtop its paſſage; but this was impoſſible, as long as the Engliſh had any wind, of which they availed themſelves quite to this Reach. Theſe Indians were the Ouachas and Chaouachas, who dwelt to the weſt of the Miſſiſippi, and below this Reach. There were of them on each ſide of the river, and they lying in the canes, obſerved the Engliſh, and followed them as they went up, without daring to attack them.

When the Engliſh were come to the entrance of this Reach, the little wind they had failed them; obſerving beſides, that the Miſſiſippi made a great turn or winding, they deſpaired of ſucceeding; and wanted to moor in this ſpot, for which purpoſe they muſt bring a rope to land: but the Indians ſhot a great number of arrows at them, till the report of a cannon, fired at random, ſcattered them, and gave the ſignal to the Engliſh to go on board, for fear the Indians ſhould come in greater numbers, and cut them to pieces.

Such is the origin of the name of this Reach. The Miſſiſippi in this place forms the figure of a creſcent, almoſt cloſed; ſo that the ſame wind which brings up a ſhip, proves often contrary, when come to the Reach; and this is the reaſon that ſhips moor, and go up towed, or tacking. This Reach is ſix or ſeven leagues; ſome aſſign it eight, more or leſs, according as they happen to make way.

The lands on both ſides of this Reach are inhabited, though the depth of ſoil is inconſiderable. Immediately above this Reach ſtands New Orleans, the capital of this colony, on the eaſt of the Miſſiſippi. A league behind the town, directly back from the river, we meet with a Bayouc or creek, which can bear large boats with oars. In following this Bayouc for the ſpace of a league, we go to the lake St. Louis, and after traverſing obliquely this laſt, we meet the Channels, which lead to Mobile, where I began my deſcription of the nature of the ſoil of Louiſiana.

The ground on which New Orleans is ſituated, being an earth accumulated by the ooze, in the ſame manner as is that both below and above, a good way from the capital, is of a good quality for agriculture, only that it is ſtrong, and rather too fat. This land being flat, and drowned by the inundations for ſeveral ages, cannot fail to be kept in moiſture, there being, moreover, only a mole or bank to prevent the river from overflowing it; and would be even too moiſt, and incapable of cultivation, had not this mole been made, and ditches, cloſe to each other, to facilitate the draining off the waters: by this means it has been put in a condition to be cultivated with ſucceſs.

From New Orleans to Manchac on the eaſt of the Miſſiſippi, twenty-five leagues above the capital, and quite to the Fork to the weſt, almoſt over-againſt Manchac, and a little way off, the lands are of the ſame kind and quality with thoſe of New Orleans.

CHAP. IV.

Quality of the Lands above the Fork. *A Quarry of Stone for building. High Lands to the Eaſt: Their vaſt Fertility. Weſt Coaſt: Weſt Lands: Saltpetre.*

TO the weſt, above the Fork, the lands are pretty flat, but exempt from inundations. The part beſt known of theſe lands is called Baya-Ogoula, a name framed of Bayouc and Ogoula, which ſignifies the nation dwelling near the Bayouc; there having been a nation of that name in that place, when the firſt Frenchmen came down the Miſſiſippi; it lies twenty-five leagues from the capital.

But to the eaſt, the lands are a good deal higher, ſeeing from Manchac to the river Wabache they are between an hundred and two hundred feet higher than the Miſſiſippi in its greateſt floods. The ſlope of theſe lands goes off perpendicularly

pendicularly from the Miſſiſippi, which on that ſide receives but few rivers, and thoſe very ſmall, if we except the river of the Yaſous, whoſe courſe is not above fifty leagues.

All theſe high lands are, beſides, ſurmounted, in a good many places, by little eminences, or ſmall hills, and riſing grounds running off lengthwiſe, with gentle ſlopes. It is only when we go a little way from the Miſſiſippi, that we find theſe high lands are over-topped by little mountains, which appear to be all of earth, though ſteep, without the leaſt gravel or pebble being perceived on them.

The ſoil on theſe high lands is very good; it is a black light mold, about three feet deep on the hills or riſing grounds. This upper earth lies upon a reddiſh clay, very ſtrong and ſtiff; the loweſt places between theſe hills are of the ſame nature, but there the black earth is between five and ſix feet deep. The graſs growing in the hollows is of the height of a man, and very ſlender and fine; whereas the graſs of the ſame meadow on the high lands riſes ſcarce knee deep; as it does on the higheſt eminences, unleſs there is found ſomething underneath, which not only renders the graſs ſhorter, but even prevents its growth by the efficacy of ſome exhalations; which is not ordinarily the caſe on hills, though riſing high, but only on the mountains properly ſo called.

My experience in architecture having taught me, that ſeveral quarries have been found under a clay like this, I was always of opinion there muſt be ſome in thoſe hills.

Since I made theſe reflections, I have had occaſion, in my journey to the country, to confirm theſe conjectures. We had ſet up our hut at the foot of an eminence, which was ſteep towards us, and near a fountain, whoſe water was lukewarm and pure.

This fountain appeared to me to iſſue out of a hole, which was formed by the ſinking of the earth. I ſtooped,

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in order to take a better view of it, and I obſerved ſtone, which to the eye appeared proper for building, and the upper part which was this clay, which is peculiar to the country. I was highly pleaſed to be thus aſcertained, that there was ſtone fit for building in this colony, where it is imagined there is none, becauſe it does not come out of the earth to ſhew itſelf.

It is not to be wondered, that there is none to be found in the Lower Louiſiana, which is only an earth accumulated by ooze; but it is far more extraordinary, not to ſee a flint, nor even a pebble on the hills, for upwards of an hundred leagues ſometimes; however, this is a thing common in this province.

I imagine I ought to aſſign a reaſon for it, which ſeems pretty probable to me. This land has never been turned, or dug, and is very cloſe above the clay, which is extremely hard, and covers the ſtone, which cannot ſhew itſelf through ſuch a covering: it is therefore no ſuch ſurprize, that we obſerve no ſtone out of the earth in theſe plains and on theſe eminences.

All theſe high lands are generally meadows and foreſts of tall trees, with graſs up to the knee. Along gullies they prove to be thickets, in which wood of every kind is found, and alſo the fruits of the country.

Almoſt all theſe lands on the eaſt of the river are ſuch as I have deſcribed; that is, the meadows are on thoſe high grounds, whoſe ſlope is very gentle; we alſo find there tall foreſts, and thickets in the low bottoms. In the meadows we obſerve here and there groves of very tall and ſtraight oaks, to the number of fourſcore or an hundred at moſt: there are others of about forty or fifty, which ſeem to have been planted by men's hands in theſe meadows, for a retreat to the buffaloes, deer, and other animals, and a ſcreen againſt ſtorms, and the ſting of the flies.

The

The tall foreſts are all hiccory, or all oak: in theſe laſt we find a great many morels; but then there grows a ſpecies of muſhrooms at the feet of felled walnut-trees, which the Indians carefully gather; I taſted of them, and found them good.

The meadows are not only covered with graſs fit for paſture, but produce quantities of wood-ſtrawberries in the month of April; for the following months the proſpect is charming; we ſcarce obſerve a pile of graſs, unleſs what we tread under foot; the flowers, which are then in all their beauty, exhibit to the view the moſt raviſhing ſight, being diverſified without end; one in particular I have remarked, which would adorn the moſt beautiful parterre; I mean the Lion's Mouth *(la gueule de Lion)*.

Theſe meadows afford not only a charming proſpect to the eye; they, moreover, plentifully produce excellent ſimples, (equally with tall woods) as well for the purpoſes of medicine as of dying. When all theſe plants are burnt, and a ſmall rain comes on, muſhrooms of an excellent flavour ſucceed to them, and whiten the ſurface of the meadows all over.

Thoſe riſing meadows and tall foreſts abound with buffaloes, elk, and deer, with turkeys, partridges, and all kinds of game; conſequently wolves, catamounts, and other carnivorous animals are found there; which, in following the other animals, deſtroy and devour ſuch as are too old or too fat; and when the Indians go a hunting, theſe animals are ſure to have the offal, or hound's fee, which makes them follow the hunters.

Theſe high lands naturally produce mulberry-trees, the leaves of which are very grateful to the ſilk-worm. Indigo, in like manner, grows there along the thickets, without culture. There alſo a native tobacco is found growing wild, for the culture of which, as well as for other ſpecies of tobacco, theſe lands are extremely well adapted. Cotton is alſo cultivated to advantage: wheat and flax thrive

better and more eaſily there, than lower down towards the capital, the land there being too fat; which is the reaſon that, indeed, oats come there to a greater height than in the lands I am ſpeaking of; but the cotton and the other productions are neither ſo ſtrong nor ſo fine there, and the crops of them are often leſs profitable, though the ſoil be of an excellent nature.

In fine, thoſe high lands to the eaſt of the Miſſiſippi, from Manchac to the river Wabache, may and ought to contain mines: we find in them, juſt at the ſurface, iron and pit-coal, but no appearance of ſilver mines; gold there may be, copper alſo, and lead.

Let us return to Manchac, where I quitted the Miſſiſippi; which I ſhall croſs, in order to viſit the weſt ſide, as I have already done the eaſt. I ſhall begin with the weſt coaſt, which reſembles that to the eaſt; but is ſtill more dry and barren on the ſhore. On quitting that coaſt of white and cryſtal ſand, in order to go northward, we meet five or ſix lakes, which communicate with one another, and which are, doubtleſs, remains of the ſea. Between theſe lakes and the Miſſiſippi, is an earth accumulated on the ſand, and formed by the ooze of that river, as I ſaid; between theſe lakes there is nothing but ſand, on which there is ſo little earth, that the ſand-bottom appears to view; ſo that we find there but little paſture, which ſome ſtrayed buffaloes come to eat; and no trees, if we except a hill on the banks of one of theſe lakes, which is all covered with ever-green oaks, fit for ſhip-building. This ſpot may be a league in length by half a league in breadth; and was called Barataria, becauſe encloſed by theſe lakes and their outlets, to form almoſt an iſland on dry land.

Theſe lakes are ſtored with monſtrous carp, as well for ſize as for length; which ſlip out of the Miſſiſippi and its muddy ſtream, when overflowed, in ſearch of clearer water. The quantity of fiſh in theſe lakes is very ſurprizing, eſpecially

cially as they abound with vaſt numbers of alligators. In the neighbourhood or theſe lakes there are ſome petty nations of Indians, who partly live on this amphibious animal.

Between theſe lakes and the banks of the Miſſiſippi, there is ſome thin herbage, and among others, natural hemp, which grows like trees, and very branched. This need not ſurprize us, as each plant ſtands very diſtant from the other: hereabouts we find little wood, unleſs when we approach the Miſſiſippi.

To the weſt of theſe lakes we find excellent lands, covered in many places with open woods of tall trees, through which one may eaſily ride on horſeback; and here we find ſome buffaloes, which only paſs through theſe woods becauſe the paſture under the trees is bitter; and therefore they prefer the graſs of the meadows, which lying expoſed to the rays of the ſun, becomes thereby more ſavoury.

In going ſtill farther weſt, we meet much thicker woods, becauſe this country is extremely well watered; we here find numbers of rivers, which fall into the ſea; and what contributes to the fertility of this land, is the number of brooks, that fall into theſe rivers.

This country abounds with deer and other game; buffaloes are rare; but it promiſes great riches to ſuch as ſhall inhabit it, from the excellent quality of its lands. The Spaniards, who bound us on that ſide, are jealous enough: but the great quantities of land they poſſeſs in America, have made them loſe ſight of ſettling there, though acquainted therewith before us: however, they took ſome ſteps to traverſe our deſigns, when they ſaw we had ſome thoughts that way. But they are not ſettled there as yet; and who could hinder us from making advantageous ſettlements in that country?

I reſume the banks of the Miſſiſippi, above the lakes, and the lands above the Fork, which, as I have ſufficiently

acquainted the reader, are none of the beſt; and I go up to the north, in order to follow the ſame method I obſerved in deſcribing the nature of the lands to the eaſt.

The banks of the Miſſiſippi are of a fat and ſtrong ſoil; but far leſs ſubject to inundations than the lands of the eaſt. If we proceed a little way weſtward, we meet land gradually riſing, and of an excellent quality; and even meadows, which we might well affirm to be boundleſs, if they were not interſected by little groves. Theſe meadows are covered with buffaloes and other game, which live there ſo much the more peaceably, as they are neither hunted by men, who never frequent thoſe countries; nor diſquieted by wolves or tigers, which keep more to the north.

The country I have juſt deſcribed is ſuch as I have repreſented it, till we come to New Mexico: it riſes gently enough, near the Red River, which bounds it to the north, till we reach a high land, which was no more than five or ſix leagues in breadth, and in certain places only a league; it is almoſt flat, having but ſome eminences at ſome conſiderable diſtance from each other: we alſo meet ſome mountains of a middling height, which appear to contain ſomething more than bare ſtone.

This high land begins at ſome leagues from the Miſſiſippi, and continues ſo quite to New Mexico; it lowers towards the Red River, by windings, where it is diverſified alternately with meadows and woods. The top of this height, on the contrary, has ſcarce any wood. A fine graſs grows between the ſtones, which are common there. The buffaloes come to feed on this graſs, when the rains drive them out of the plains; otherwiſe they go but little thither, becauſe they find there neither water, nor ſaltpetre.

We are to remark, by the bye, that all cloven-footed animals are extremely fond of ſalt, and that Louiſiana in general contains a great deal of ſaltpetre. And thus we are not

not to wonder, if the buffalo, the elk, and the deer, have a greater inclination to ſome certain places than to others, though they are there often hunted. We ought therefore to conclude, that there is more ſaltpetre in thoſe places, than in ſuch as they haunt but rarely. This is what made me remark, that theſe animals, after their ordinary repaſt, fail but rarely to go to the torrents, where the earth is cut, and even to the clay; which they lick, eſpecially after rain, becauſe they there find a taſte of ſalt, which allures them thither. Moſt of thoſe who have made this remark imagine that theſe animals eat the earth; whereas in ſuch places they only go in queſt of the ſalt, which to them is ſo ſtrong an allurement as to make them bid defiance to dangers in order to get at it.

CHAP. V.

Quality of the Lands of the Red River. *Poſts of the* Nachitoches. *A Silver Mine. Lands of the* Black River.

THE Banks of the Red River, towards its confluence, are pretty low, and ſometimes drowned by the inundations of the Miſſiſippi; but above all, the north ſide, which is but a marſhy land for upwards of ten leagues in going up to the Nachitoches, till we come to the Black River, which falls into the Red. This laſt takes its name from the colour of its ſand, which is red in ſeveral places: it is alſo called the Marne, a name given it by ſome geographers, but unknown in the country. Some call it the River of the Nachitoches, becauſe they dwell on its banks: but the appellation, Red River, has remained to it.

Between the Black River and the Red River the ſoil is but very light, and even ſandy, where we find more firs than other trees; we alſo obſerve therein ſome marſhes. But theſe lands, though not altogether barren, if culti-

vated, would be none of the beſt. They continue ſuch along the banks of the river, only to the rapid part of it, thirty leagues from the Miſſiſippi. This rapid part cannot juſtly be called a fall; however, we can ſcarce go up with oars, when laden, but muſt land and tow. I imagine, if the waterman's pole was uſed, as on the Loire and other rivers in France, this obſtacle would be eaſily ſurmounted.

The ſouth ſide of this river, quite to the rapid part, is entirely different from the oppoſite ſide; it is ſomething higher, and riſes in proportion as it approaches to the height I have mentioned; the quality is alſo very different. This land is good and light, and appears diſpoſed to receive all the culture imaginable, in which we may aſſuredly hope to ſucceed. It naturally produces beautiful fruit trees and vines in plenty; it was on that ſide muſcadine grapes were found. The back parts have neater woods, and the meadows interſected with tall foreſts. On that ſide the fruit trees of the country are common; above all, the hiccory and walnut-trees, which are ſure indications of a good ſoil.

From the rapid part to the Nachitoches, the lands on both ſides of this river ſufficiently reſemble thoſe I have juſt mentioned. To the left, in going up, there is a petty nation, called the Avoyelles, and known only for the ſervices they have done the Colony by the horſes, oxen, and cows they have brought from New Mexico for the ſervice of the French in Louiſiana. I am ignorant what view the Indians may have in that commerce: but I well know, that notwithſtanding the fatigues of the journey, theſe cattle, one with another, did not come, after deducting all expences, and even from the ſecond hand, but to about two piſtoles a head; whence I ought to preſume, that they have them cheap in New Mexico. By means of this nation we have in Louiſiana very beautiful horſes, of the ſpecies of thoſe of Old Spain, which, if managed or trained, people of the firſt rank might ride. As to the oxen and

cows,

cows, they are the ſame as thoſe of France, and both are at preſent very common in Louiſiana.

The ſouth ſide conveys into the Red River only little brooks. On the north ſide, and pretty near the Nachitoches, there is, as is ſaid, a ſpring of water very ſalt, running only four leagues. This ſpring, as it comes out of the earth, forms a little river, which, during the heats, leaves ſome ſalt on its banks. And what may render this more credible is, that the country whence it takes its riſe contains a great deal of mineral ſalt, which diſcovers itſelf by ſeveral ſprings of ſalt water, and by two ſalt lakes, of which I ſhall preſently ſpeak. In fine, in going up we come to the French fort of the Nachitoches, built in an iſland, formed by the Red River.

This iſland is nothing but ſand, and that ſo fine, that the wind drives it like duſt; ſo that the tobacco attempted to be cultivated there at firſt was loaded with it. The leaf of the tobacco having a very fine down, eaſily retains this ſand, which the leaſt breath of air diffuſes every where; which is the reaſon that no more tobacco is raiſed in this iſland, but proviſions only, as maiz, potatoes, pompions, &c. which cannot be damaged by the ſands.

M. de St. Denis commanded at this place, where he inſinuated himſelf into the good graces of the natives in ſuch a manner, that, altho' they prefer death to ſlavery, or even to the government of a ſovereign, however mild, yet twenty or twenty-five nations were ſo attached to his perſon, that, forgetting they were born free, they willingly ſurrendered themſelves to him; the people and their Chiefs would all have him for their Grand Chief; ſo that at the leaſt ſignal, he could put himſelf at the head of thirty thouſand men, drawn out of thoſe nations, which had of their own accord ſubmitted themſelves to his orders; and that only by ſending them a paper on which he drew the uſual hieroglyphics that repreſent war among them, with a large leg, which denoted himſelf. This was ſtill the more ſurprizing, as the greateſt part of theſe people were

on the Spaniſh territories, and ought rather to have attached themſelves to them, than to the French, if it had not been for the perſonal merits of this Commander.

At the diſtance of ſeven leagues from the French Poſt, the Spaniards have ſettled one, where they have reſided ever ſince M. de la Motte, Governor of Louiſiana, agreed to that ſettlement. I know not by what fatal piece of policy the Spaniards were allowed to make this ſettlement; but I know, that, if it had not been for the French, the natives would never have ſuffered the Spaniards to ſettle in that place.

However, ſeveral French were allured to this Spaniſh ſettlement, doubtleſs imagining, that the rains which come from Mexico, rolled and brought gold along with them, which would coſt nothing but the trouble of picking up. But to what purpoſe ſerves this beautiful metal, but to make the people vain and idle among whom it is ſo common, and to make them neglect the culture of the earth, which conſtitutes true riches, by the ſweets it procures to man, and by the advantages it furniſhes to commerce.

Above the Nachitoches dwell the Cadodaquious, whoſe ſcattered villages aſſume different names. Pretty near one of theſe villages was diſcovered a ſilver mine, which was found to be rich, and of a very pure metal. I have ſeen the aſſay of it, and its ore is very fine. This ſilver lies concealed in ſmall inviſible particles, in a ſtone of a cheſnut colour, which is ſpongy, pretty light, and eaſily calcinable: however, it yields a great deal more than it promiſes to the eye. The aſſay of this ore was made by a Portugueſe, who had worked at the mines of New Mexico, whence he made his eſcape. He appeared to be maſter of his buſineſs, and afterwards viſited other mines farther north, but he ever gave the preference to that of the Red River.

This river, according to the Spaniards, takes its riſe in 32 degrees of north latitude; runs about fifty leagues north-

north-eaſt; forms a great elbow, or winding to the eaſt; then proceeding thence ſouth-eaſt, at which place we begin to know it, it comes and falls into the Miſſiſippi, about 31° and odd minutes.

I ſaid above, that the Black River diſcharges itſelf into the Red, ten leagues above the confluence of this laſt with the Miſſiſippi: we now proceed to reſume that river, and follow its courſe, after having obſerved, that the fiſh of all thoſe rivers which communicate with the Miſſiſippi, are the ſame as to ſpecies, but far better in the Red and Black Rivers, becauſe their water is clearer and better than that of the Miſſiſippi, which they always quit with pleaſure. Their delicate and finer flavour may alſo ariſe from the nouriſhment they take in thoſe rivers.

The lands of which we are going to ſpeak are to the north of the Red River. They may be diſtinguiſhed into two parts; which are to the right and left of the Black River, in going up to its ſource, and even as far as the river of the Arkanſas. It is called the Black River, becauſe its depth gives it that colour, which is, moreover, heightened by the woods which line it throughout the Colony. All the rivers have their banks covered with woods; but this river, which is very narrow, is almoſt quite covered by the branches, and rendered of a dark colour in the firſt view. It is ſometimes called the river of the Wachitas, becauſe its banks were occupied by a nation of that name, who are now extinct. I ſhall continue to call it by its uſual name.

The lands which we directly find on both ſides are low, and continue thus for the ſpace of three or four leagues, till we come to the river of the Taenſas, thus denominated from a nation of that name, which dwelt on its banks. This river of the Taenſas is, properly ſpeaking, but a channel formed by the overflowings of the Miſſiſippi, has its courſe almoſt parallel thereto, and ſeparates the low lands from the higher. The lands between the Miſſiſippi and the

the river of the Taenſas are the ſame as in the Lower Louiſiana.

The lands we find in going up the Black River are nearly the ſame, as well for the nature of the ſoil, as for their good qualities. They are riſing grounds, extending in length, and which in general may be conſidered as one very extenſive meadow, diverſified with little groves, and cut only by the Black River and little brooks, bordered with wood up to their ſources. Buffaloes and deer are ſeen in whole herds there. In approaching to the river of the Arkanſas, deer and pheaſants begin to be very common; and the ſame ſpecies of game is found there, as is to the eaſt of the Miſſiſippi; in like manner wood-ſtrawberries, ſimples, flowers, and muſhrooms. The only difference is, that this ſide of the Miſſiſippi is more level, there being no lands ſo high and ſo very different from the reſt of the country. The woods are like thoſe to the eaſt of the Miſſiſippi, except that to the weſt there are more walnut and hiccory trees. Theſe laſt are another ſpecies of walnut, the nuts of which are more tender, and invite to theſe parts a greater number of parrots. What we have juſt ſaid, holds in general of this weſt ſide; let us now conſider what is peculiar thereto.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

A Brook of Salt Water: Salt Lakes. Lands of the River of the Arkanſas. *Red veined Marble: Slate: Plaſter. Hunting the Buffalo. The dry Sand-banks in the* Miſſiſippi.

AFTER we have gone up the Black River about thirty leagues, we find to the left a brook of ſalt water, which comes from the weſt. In going up this brook about two leagues, we meet with a lake of ſalt water, which may be two leagues in length, by one in breadth. A league higher up to the north, we meet another lake of ſalt water, almoſt as long and broad as the former.

This water, doubtleſs, paſſes through ſome mines of ſalt; it has the taſte of ſalt, without that bitterneſs of the ſea-water. The Indians come a great way off to this place, to hunt in winter, and make ſalt. Before the French trucked coppers with them, they made upon the ſpot pots of earth for this operation: and they returned home loaded with ſalt and dry proviſions.

To the eaſt of the Black River we obſerve nothing that indicates mines; but to the weſt one might affirm there ſhould be ſome, from certain marks, which might well deceive pretended connoiſſeurs. As for my part, I would not warrant that there were two mines in that part of the country, which ſeems to promiſe them. I ſhould rather be led to believe that they are mines of ſalt, at no great depth from the ſurface of the earth, which, by their volatile and acid ſpirits, prevent the growth of plants in thoſe ſpots.

Ten or twelve leagues above this brook is a creek, near which thoſe Natchez retreated, who eſcaped being made ſlaves with the reſt of their nation, when the Meſſrs. Perier

rier extirpated them on the eaſt ſide of the river, by order of the Court.

The Black River takes its riſe to the north-weſt of its confluence, and pretty near the river of the Arkanſas, into which falls a branch from this riſe or ſource; by means of which we may have a communication from the one to the other with a middling carriage. This communication with the river of the Arkanſas is upwards of an hundred leagues from the Poſt of that name. In other reſpects, this Black River might carry a boat throughout, if cleared of the wood fallen into its bed, which generally traverſes it from one ſide to the other. It receives ſome brooks, and abounds in excellent fiſh, and in alligators.

I make no doubt but theſe lands are very fit to bear and produce every thing that can be cultivated with ſucceſs on the eaſt of the Miſſiſippi, oppoſite to this ſide, except the canton or quarter between the river of the Taenſas and the Miſſiſippi; that land, being ſubject to inundations, would be proper only for rice.

I imagine we may now paſs on to the north of the river of the Arkanſas, which takes its riſe in the mountains adjoining to the eaſt of Santa Fé. It afterwards goes up a little to the north, from whence it comes down to the ſouth, a little lower than its ſource. In this manner it forms a line parallel almoſt with the Red River.

That river has a cataract or fall, at about an hundred and fifty leagues from its confluence. Before we come to this fall, we find a quarry of red-veined marble, one of ſlate, and one of plaſter. Some travellers have there obſerved grains of gold in a little brook: but as they happened to be going in queſt of a rock of emeralds, they deigned not to amuſe themſelves with picking up particles of gold.

This river of the Arkanſas is ſtored with fiſh; has a great deal of water; having a courſe of two hundred and fifty

fifty leagues, and can carry large boats quite to the cataract. Its banks are covered with woods, as are all the other rivers of the country. In its courſe it receives ſeveral brooks or rivulets, of little conſequence, unleſs we except that called the White River, and which diſcharges itſelf into the curve or elbow of that we are ſpeaking of, and below its fall.

In the whole tract north of this river, we find plains that extend out of ſight, which are vaſt meadows, interſected by groves, at no great diſtance from one another, which are all tall woods, where we might eaſily hunt the ſtag; great numbers of which, as alſo of buffaloes, are found here. Deer alſo are very common.

From having ſeen thoſe animals frightened at the leaſt noiſe, eſpecially at the report of a gun, I have thought of a method to hunt them, in the manner the Spaniards of New Mexico do, which would not ſcare them at all, and which would turn to the great advantage of the inhabitants, who have this game in plenty in their country. This hunting might be ſet about in winter, from the beginning of October, when the meadows are burnt, till the month of February.

This hunting is neither expenſive nor fatiguing: horſes are had very cheap in that country, and maintained almoſt for nothing. Each hunter is mounted on horſeback, and armed with a creſcent ſomewhat open, whoſe inſide ſhould be pretty ſharp; the top of the outſide to have a ſocket, to put in a handle: then a number of people on horſeback to go in queſt of a herd of buffaloes, and always attack them with the wind in their backs. As ſoon as they ſmell a man, it is true, they run away; but at the ſight of the horſes they will moderate their fears, and thus not precipitate their flight; whereas the report of a gun frightens them ſo as to make them run at full ſpeed. In this chace, the lighteſt would run faſt enough; but the oldeſt, and even the young of two or three years old, are

are ſo fat, that their weight would make them ſoon be overtaken: then the armed hunter may ſtrike the buffalo with his creſcent above each ham, and cut his tendons; after which he is eaſily maſtered. Such as never ſaw a buffalo, will hardly believe the quantity of fat they yield: but it ought to be conſidered, that, continuing day and night in plentiful paſtures of the fineſt and moſt delicious graſs, they muſt ſoon fatten, and that from their youth. Of this we have an inſtance in a bull at the Natchez, which was kept till he was two years old, and grew ſo fat, that he could not leap on a cow, from his great weight; ſo that we were obliged to kill him, and got nigh an hundred and fifty pounds of tallow from him. His neck was near as big as his body.

From what I have ſaid, it may be judged what profit ſuch hunters might make of the ſkins and tallow of thoſe buffaloes; the hides would be large, and their wool would be ſtill an additional benefit. I may add, that this hunting of them would not diminiſh the ſpecies, thoſe fat buffaloes being ordinarily the prey of wolves, as being too heavy to be able to defend themſelves.

Beſides, the wolves would not find their account in attacking them in herds. It is well known that the buffaloes range themſelves in a ring, the ſtrongeſt without, and the weakeſt within. The ſtrong ſtanding pretty cloſe together, preſent their horns to the enemy, who dare not attack them in this diſpoſition. But wolves, like all other animals, have their particular inſtinct, in order to procure their neceſſary food. They come ſo near that the buffaloes ſmell them ſome way off, which makes them run for it. The wolves then advance with a pretty equal pace, till they obſerve the fatteſt out of breath. Theſe they attack before and behind; one of them ſeizes on the buffalo by the hind-quarter, and overturns him, the others ſtrangle him.

The

The wolves being many in a body, kill not what is ſufficient for one alone, but as many as they can, before they begin to eat. For this is the manner of the wolf, to kill ten or twenty times more than he needs, eſpecially when he can do it with eaſe, and without interruption.

Though the country I deſcribe has very extenſive plains, I pretend not to ſay that there are no riſing grounds or hills; but they are more rare there than elſewhere, eſpecially on the weſt ſide. In approaching to New Mexico we obſerve great hills and mountains, ſome of which are pretty high.

I ought not to omit mentioning here, that from the low lands of Louiſiana, the Miſſiſippi has ſeveral ſhoal banks of ſand in it, which appear very dry upon the falling of the waters, after the inundations. Theſe banks extend more or leſs in length; ſome of them half a league, and not without a conſiderable breadth. I have ſeen the Natchez, and other Indians, ſow a ſort of grain, which they called Choupichoul, on theſe dry ſand-banks. This ſand received no manner of culture; and the women and children covered the grain any how with their feet, without taking any great pains about it. After this ſowing, and manner of culture, they waited till autumn, when they gathered a great quantity of the grain. It was prepared like millet, and very good to eat. This plant is what is called Belle Dame Sauvage *, which thrives in all countries, but requires a good ſoil: and whatever good quality the ſoil in Europe may have, it ſhoots but a foot and a half high; and yet, on this ſand of the Miſſiſippi, it riſes, without any culture, three feet and a half, and four feet high. Such is the virtue of this ſand all up the Miſſiſippi; or, to ſpeak more properly, for the whole length of its courſe; if we except the accumulated earth of the Lower Louiſiana, acroſs which it paſſes, and where it cannot leave any dry ſand-banks; becauſe it is ſtraitened

* He ſeems to mean Buck-wheat.

ened within its banks, which the river itſelf raiſes, and continually augments.

In all the groves and little foreſts I have mentioned, and which lie to the north of the Arkanſas, pheaſants, partridges, ſnipes, and woodcocks, are in ſuch great numbers, that thoſe who are moſt fond of this game, might eaſily ſatisfy their longing, as alſo every other ſpecies of game. Small birds are ſtill vaſtly more numerous.

CHAP. VII.

The Lands of the River St. Francis. *Mine of* Marameg, *and other Mines. A Lead Mine. A ſoft Stone reſembling Porphyry. Lands of the* Miſſouri. *The Lands north of the* Wabache. *The Lands of the* Illinois. De la Mothe's *Mine, and other Mines.*

THIRTY leagues above the river of the Arkanſas, to the north, and on the ſame ſide of the Miſſiſippi, we find the river St. Francis.

The lands adjoining to it are always covered with herds of buffaloes, notwithſtanding they are hunted every winter in thoſe parts: for it is to this river, that is, in its neighbourhood, that the French and Canadians go and make their ſalt proviſions for the inhabitants of the capital, and of the neighbouring plantations, in which they are aſſiſted by the native Arkanſas, whom they hire for that purpoſe. When they are upon the ſpot, they chuſe a tree fit to make a pettyaugre, which ſerves for a ſalting or powdering-tub in the middle, and is cloſed at the two ends, where only is left room for a man at each extremity.

The trees they chooſe are ordinarily the poplar, which grow on the banks of the water. It is a white wood, ſoft and binding. The pettyaugres might be made of other

other wood, becauſe ſuch are to be had pretty large; but either too heavy for pettyaugres, or too apt to ſplit.

The ſpecies of wood in this part of Louiſiana is tall oak; the fields abound with four ſorts of walnut, eſpecially the black kind; ſo called, becauſe it is of a dark brown colour, bordering on black; this ſort grows very large.

There are beſides fruit trees in this country, and it is there we begin to find commonly Papaws. We have alſo here other trees of every ſpecies, more or leſs, according as the ſoil is favourable. Theſe lands in general are fit to produce every thing the low lands can yield, except rice and indigo. But in return, wheat thrives there extremely well: the vine is found every where; the mulberry-tree is in plenty; tobacco grows fine, and of a good quality; as do cotton and garden plants: ſo that by leading an eaſy and agreeable life in that country, we may at the ſame time be ſure of a good return to France.

The land which lies between the Miſſiſippi and the river St. Francis, is full of riſing grounds, and mountains of a middling height, which, according to the ordinary indications, contain ſeveral mines: ſome of them have been aſſayed; among the reſt, the mine of Marameg, on the little river of that name; the other mines appear not to be ſo rich, nor ſo eaſy to be worked. There are ſome lead mines, and others of copper, as is pretended.

The mine of Marameg, which is ſilver, is pretty near the confluence of the river which gives it name; which is a great advantage to thoſe who would work it, becauſe they might eaſily by that means have their goods from Europe. It is ſituate about five hundred leagues from the ſea.

I ſhall continue on the weſt ſide of the Miſſiſippi, and to the north of the famous river of Miſſouri, which we are now to croſs. This river takes its riſe at eight hundred leagues diſtance, as is alledged, from the place where

it diſcharges itſelf into the Miſſiſippi. Its waters are muddy, thick, and charged with nitre; and theſe are the waters that make the Miſſiſippi muddy down to the ſea, its waters being extremely clear above the confluence of the Miſſouri: the reaſon is, that the former rolls its waters over a ſand and pretty firm ſoil; the latter, on the contrary, flows acroſs rich and clayey lands, where little ſtone is to be ſeen; for though the Miſſouri comes out of a mountain, which lies to the north-weſt of New Mexico, we are told, that all the lands it paſſes through are generally rich; that is, low meadows, and lands without ſtone.

This great river, which ſeems ready to diſpute the preeminence with the Miſſiſippi, receives in its long courſe many rivers and brooks, which conſiderably augment its waters. But except thoſe that have received their names from ſome nation of Indians who inhabit their banks, there are very few of their names we can be well aſſured of, each traveller giving them different appellations. The French having penetrated up the Miſſouri only for about three hundred leagues at moſt, and the rivers which fall into its bed being only known by the Indians, it is of little importance what names they may bear at preſent, being beſides in a country but little frequented. The river which is the beſt known is that of the Oſages, ſo called from a nation of that name, dwelling on its banks. It falls into the Miſſouri, pretty near its confluence.

The largeſt known river which falls into the Miſſouri, is that of the Canzas; which runs for near two hundred leagues in a very fine country. According to what I have been able to learn about the courſe of this great river, from its ſource to the Canzas, it runs from weſt to eaſt; and from that nation it falls down to the ſouthward, where it receives the river of the Canzas, which comes from the weſt; there it forms a great elbow, which terminates in the neighbourhood of the Miſſouris; then it

reſumes its courſe to the ſouth-eaſt, to loſe at laſt both its name and waters in the Miſſiſippi, about four leagues lower down than the river of the Illinois.

There was a French Poſt for ſome time in an iſland a few leagues in length, overagainſt the Miſſouris; the French ſettled in this fort at the eaſt-point, and called it Fort Orleans. M. de Bourgmont commanded there a ſufficient time to gain the friendſhip of the Indians of the countries adjoining to this great river. He brought about a peace among all thoſe nations, who before his arrival were all at war; the nations to the north being more warlike than thoſe to the ſouth.

After the departure of that commandant, they murdered all the garriſon, not a ſingle Frenchman having eſcaped to carry the news: nor could it be ever known whetner it happened through the fault of the French, or through treachery.

As to the nature of that country, I refer to M. de Bourgmont's Journal, an extract from which I have given above. That is an original account, ſigned by all the officers, and ſeveral others of the company, which I thought was too prolix to give at full length, and for that reaſon I have only extracted from it what relates to the people and the quality of the ſoil, and traced out the route to thoſe who have a mind to make that journey; and even this we found neceſſary to abridge in this tranſlation.

In this journey of M. de Bourgmont, mention is only made of what we meet with from Fort Orleans, from which we ſet out, in order to go to the Padoucas: wherefore I ought to ſpeak of a thing curious enough to be related, and which is found on the banks of the Miſſouri; and that is, a pretty high cliff, upright from the edge of the water. From the middle of this cliff juts out a maſs of red ſtone with white ſpots, like porphyry, with this difference, that what we are ſpeaking of is almoſt ſoft

and tender, like ſand-ſtone. It is covered with another ſort of ſtone of no value; the bottom is an earth, like that on other riſing grounds. This ſtone is eaſily worked, and bears the moſt violent fire. The Indians of the country have contrived to ſtrike off pieces thereof with their arrows, and after they fall in the water plunge for them. When they can procure pieces thereof large enough to make pipes, they faſhion them with knives and awls. This pipe has a ſocket two or three inches long, and on the oppoſite ſide the figure of a hatchet; in the middle of all is the boot, or bowl of the pipe, to put the tobacco in. Theſe ſort of pipes are highly eſteemed among them.

All to the north of the Miſſouri is entirely unknown, unleſs we give credit to the relations of different travellers; but to which of them ſhall we give the preference? In the firſt place, they almoſt all contradict each other: and then, men of the moſt experience treat them as impoſtors; and therefore I chooſe to pay no regard to any of them.

Let us therefore now repaſs the Miſſiſippi, in order to reſume the deſcription of the lands to the eaſt, and which we quitted at the river Wabache. This river is diſtant from the ſea four hundred and ſixty (three hundred) leagues; it is reckoned to have four hundred leagues in length, from its ſource to its confluence into the Miſſiſippi. It is called Wabache, though, according to the uſual method, it ought to be called the Ohio, or Beautiful River; ſeeing the Ohio is known under that name in Canada, before its confluence was known: and as the Ohio takes its riſe at a greater diſtance off than the three others, which mix together, before they empty themſelves into the Miſſiſippi, this ſhould make the others loſe their names; but cuſtom has prevailed on this occaſion *. The firſt river known to us, which falls into the Ohio, is that of the Miamis, which takes its riſe towards lake Erié.

It

* But not among the Engliſh; we call it the Ohio.

It is by this river of the Miamis that the Canadians come to Louiſiana. For this purpoſe they embark on the river St. Laurence, go up this river, paſs the cataracts quite to the bottom of Lake Erié, where they find a ſmall river, on which they alſo go up to a place called the Carriage of the Miamis; becauſe that people come and take their effects, and carry them on their backs for two leagues from thence to the banks of the river of their name, which I juſt ſaid empties itſelf into the Ohio. From thence the Canadians go down that river, enter the Wabache, and at laſt the Miſſiſippi, which brings them to New Orleans, the capital of Louiſiana. They reckon eighteen hundred leagues * from the capital of Canada to that of Louiſiana, on account of the great turns and windings they are obliged to take.

The river of the Miamis is thus the firſt to the north, which falls into the Ohio; then that of the Chaouanons to the ſouth; and laſtly, that of the Cherakees; all which together empty themſelves into the Miſſiſippi. This is what we call the Wabache, and what in Canada and New England they call the Ohio. This river is beautiful, greatly abounding in fiſh, and navigable almoſt up to its ſource.

To the north of this river lies Canada, which inclines more to the eaſt than the ſource of the Ohio, and extends to the country of the Illinois. It is of little importance to diſpute here about the limits of theſe two neighbouring colonies, as they both appertain to France. The lands of the Illinois are reputed to be a part of Louiſiana; we have there a poſt near a village of that nation, called Tamaroüas.

The country of the Illinois is extremely good, and abounds with buffalo and other game. On the north of the Wabache we begin to ſee the Orignaux; a ſpecies of animals which are ſaid to partake of the buffalo and the

* It is but nine hundred leagues.

ſtag; they have, indeed, been deſcribed to me to be much more clumſy than the ſtag. Their horns have ſomething of the ſtag, but are ſhorter and more maſſy; the meat of them, as they ſay, is pretty good. Swans and other water-fowl are common in theſe countries.

The French Poſt of the Illinois is, of all the colony, that in which with the greateſt eaſe they grow wheat, rye, and other like grain, for the ſowing of which you need only to turn the earth in the ſlighteſt manner; that ſlight culture is ſufficient to make the earth produce as much as we can reaſonably deſire. I have been aſſured, that in the laſt war, when the flour from France was ſcarce, the Illinois ſent down to New Orleans upwards of eight hundred thouſand weight thereof in one winter. Tobacco alſo thrives there, but comes to maturity with difficulty. All the plants tranſported thither from France ſucceed well, as do alſo the fruits.

In thoſe countries there is a river, which takes its name from the Illinois. It was by this river that the firſt travellers came from Canada into the Miſſiſippi. Such as come from Canada, and have buſineſs only on the Illinois, paſs that way yet: but ſuch as want to go directly to the ſea, go down the river of the Miamis into the Wabache, or Ohio, and from thence into the Miſſiſippi.

In this country there are mines, and one in particular, called De la Mothe's mine, which is ſilver, the aſſay of which has been made; as alſo of two lead-mines, ſo rich at firſt as to vegetate, or ſhoot a foot and a half at leaſt out of the earth.

The whole continent north of the river of the Illinois is not much frequented, conſequently little known. The great extent of Louiſiana makes us preſume, that theſe parts will not ſoon come to our knowledge, unleſs ſome curious perſon ſhould go thither to open mines, where they are ſaid to be in great numbers, and very rich.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Agriculture, or Manner of cultivating, ordering, and manufacturing the Commodities that are proper Articles of Commerce. Of the Culture of Maiz, Rice, *and other Fruits of the Country. Of the* Silk-worm.

IN order to give an account of the ſeveral ſorts of plants cultivated in Louiſiana, I begin with Maiz, as being the moſt uſeful grain, ſeeing it is the principal food of the people of America, and that the French found it cultivated by the Indians.

Maiz, which in France we call Turkey corn, (and we Indian-corn) is a grain of the ſize of a pea; there is of it as large as our ſugar-pea: it grows on a ſort of huſks, (Quenouille) in aſcending rows: ſome of theſe huſks have to the number of ſeven hundred grains upon them, and I have counted even to a greater number. This huſk may be about two inches thick, by ſeven or eight inches and upwards in length: it is wrapped up in ſeveral covers or thin leaves, which ſcreen it from the avidity of birds. Its foot or ſtalk is often of the ſame ſize: it has leaves about two inches and upwards broad, by two feet and a half long, which are chanelled, or formed like gutters, by which they collect the dew which diſſolves at ſunriſing, and trickles down to the ſtalk, ſometimes in ſuch plenty, as to wet the earth around them for the breadth of ſix or ſeven inches. Its flower is on the top of the ſtalk, which is ſometimes eight feet high. We ordinarily find five or ſix ears on each ſtalk, and in order to procure a greater crop, the part of the ſtalk above the ears ought to be cut away.

For ſowing the Maiz in a field already cleared and prepared, holes are made four feet aſunder every way, obſerving to make the rows as ſtraight as may be, in order to weed them the eaſier: into every hole five or ſix grains

are put, which are previouſly to be ſteeped for twenty-four hours at leaſt, to make them riſe or ſhoot the quicker, and to prevent the fox and birds from eating ſuch quantities of them: by day there are people to guard them againſt birds; by night fires are made at proper diſtances to frighten away the fox, who would otherwiſe turn up the ground, and eat the corn of all the rows, one after another, without omitting one, till he has his fill, and is therefore the moſt pernicious animal to this corn. The corn, as ſoon as ſhot out of the earth, is weeded: when it mounts up, and its ſtalks are an inch big, it is hilled, to ſecure it againſt the wind. This grain produces enough for two negroes to make fifty barrels, each weighing an hundred and fifty pounds.

Such as begin a plantation in woods, thick ſet with cane, have an advantage in the Maiz, that makes amends for the labour of clearing the ground; a labour always more fatiguing than cultivating a ſpot already cleared. The advantage is this: they begin with cutting down the canes for a great extent of ground; the trees they peel two feet high quite round: this operation is performed in the beginning of March, as then the ſap is in motion in that country: about fifteen days after, the canes, being dry, are ſet on fire: the ſap of the trees are thereby made to deſcend, and the branches are burnt, which kills the trees.

On the following day they ſow the corn in the manner I have juſt ſhewn: the roots of the cane, which are not quite dead, ſhoot freſh canes, which are very tender and brittle; and as no other weeds grow in the field that year, it is eaſy to be weeded of theſe canes, and as much corn again may be made, as in a field already cultivated.

This grain they eat in many different ways; the moſt common way is to make it into Sagamity, which is a kind of gruel made with water, or ſtrong broth. They bake bread of it like cakes (by baking it over the fire on

on an iron plate, or on a board before the fire,) which is much better than what they bake in the oven, at leaſt for preſent uſe; but you muſt make it every day; and even then it is too heavy to ſoak in ſoup of any kind. They likewiſe make Parched Meal * of it, which is a diſh of the natives, as well as the Cooëdlou, or bread mixt with beans. The ears of corn roaſted are likewiſe a peculiar diſh of theirs; and the ſmall corn dreſſed in that manner is as agreeable to us as to them. A light and black earth agrees much better with the Maiz than a ſtrong and rich one.

The Parched Meal is the beſt preparation of this corn; the French like it extremely well, no leſs than the Indians themſelves: I can affirm that it is a very good food, and at the ſame time the beſt ſort of proviſion that can be carried on a journey, becauſe it is refreſhing and extremely nouriſhing.

As for the ſmall Indian corn, you may ſee an account of it in the firſt chapter of the third Book; where you will likewiſe find an account of the way of ſowing wheat, which if you do not obſerve, you may as well ſow none.

Rice is ſown in a ſoil well laboured, either by the plough or hoe, and in winter, that it may be ſowed before the time of the inundation. It is ſown in furrows of the breadth of a hoe: when ſhot, and three or four inches high, they let water into the furrows, but in a ſmall quantity, in proportion as it grows, and then give water in greater plenty.

The ear of this grain nearly reſembles that of oats; its grains are faſtened to a beard, and its chaff is very rough, and full of thoſe fine and hard beards: the bran adheres not to the grain, as that of the corn of France; it conſiſts of two lobes, which eaſily ſeparate and looſen, and are therefore readily cleaned and broke off.

They

* See Book III. Chap. 1.

They eat their rice as they do in France, but boiled much thicker, and with much leſs cookery, although it is not inferior in goodneſs to ours: they only waſh it in warm water, taken out of the ſame pot you are to boil it in, then throw it in all at once, and boil it till it burſts, and ſo it is dreſſed without any further trouble. They make bread of it that is very white and of a good reliſh; but they have tried in vain to make any that will ſoak in ſoup.

The culture of the Water-melon is ſimple enough. They chooſe for the purpoſe a light ſoil, as that of a riſing ground, well expoſed: they make holes in the earth, from two and a half to three feet in diameter, and diſtant from each other fifteen feet every way, in each of which holes they put five or ſix ſeeds. When the ſeeds are come up, and the young plants have ſtruck out five or ſix leaves, the four moſt thriving plants are pitched upon, and the others plucked up to prevent their ſtarving each other, when too numerous. It is only at that time that they have the trouble of watering them, nature alone performing the reſt, and bringing them to maturity; which is known by the green rind beginning to change colour. There is no occaſion to cut or prune them. The other ſpecies of melons are cultivated in the ſame manner, only that between the holes the diſtance is but five or ſix feet.

All ſorts of garden plants and greens thrive extremely well in Louiſiana, and grow in much greater abundance than in France: the climate is warmer, and the ſoil much better. However, it is to be obſerved, that onions and other bulbous plants anſwer not in the low lands, without a great deal of pains and labour; whereas in the high grounds they grow very large and of a fine flavour.

The inhabitants of Louiſiana may very eaſily make Silk, having mulberries ready at hand, which grow naturally in the high lands, and plantations of them may be eaſily made.

made. The leaves of the natural mulberries of Louiſiana are what the ſilk-worms are very fond of; I mean the more common mulberries with a large leaf, but tender, and the fruit of the colour of Burgundy wine. The province produces alſo the White Mulberry, which has the ſame quality with the red.

I ſhall next relate ſome experiments that have been made on this ſubject, by people who were acquainted with it. Madam Hubert, a native of Provence, where they make a great deal of ſilk, which ſhe underſtood the management of, was deſirous of trying whether they could raiſe ſilk-worms with the mulberry leaves of this province, and what ſort of ſilk they would afford. The firſt of her experiments was, to give ſome large ſilk-worms a parcel of the leaves of the Red Mulberry, and another parcel of the White Mulberry both upon the ſame frame. She obſerved the worms went over the leaves of both ſorts, without ſhewing any greater liking to the one than to the other: then ſhe put to the other two ſorts of leaves ſome of the leaves of the White-ſweet or Sugar-Mulberry, and ſhe found that the worms left the other ſorts to go to theſe, and that they preferred them to the leaves of the common Red and White Mulberry *.

The ſecond experiment of Madam Hubert was, to raiſe and feed ſome ſilk-worms ſeparately. To ſome ſhe gave the leaves of the common White Mulberry, and to others the leaves of the White Sugar-Mulberry; in order to ſee the difference of the ſilk from the difference of their food. Moreover, ſhe raiſed and fed ſome of the native ſilk-worms of the country, which were taken very young from the mulberry-trees; but ſhe obſerved that theſe laſt were very flighty, and did nothing but run up and down, their nature being, without doubt, to live upon trees: ſhe then changed their place, that they might not mix with the other

* See an account of theſe different ſorts of Mulberry, in the notes at the end of this Volume.

other worms that came from France, and gave them little branches with the leaves on them, which made them a little more ſettled.

This induſtrious lady waited till the cocoons were perfectly made, in order to obſerve the difference between them in unwinding the ſilk; the ſucceſs of which, and of all her other experiments, ſhe was ſo good as to give me a particular account of. When the cocoons were ready to be wound, ſhe took care of them herſelf, and found that the wild worms yielded leſs ſilk than thoſe from France; for although they were of a larger ſize, they were not ſo well furniſhed with ſilk, which proceeded, no doubt, from their not being ſufficiently nouriſhed, by their running inceſſantly up and down; and accordingly ſhe obſerved that they were but meagre; but notwithſtanding, their ſilk was ſtrong and thick, though coarſe.

Thoſe who were fed with the leaves of the Red Mulberry made cocoons well furniſhed with ſilk; which was ſtronger and finer than that of France. Thoſe that were fed upon the leaves of the common White Mulberry, had the ſame ſilk with thoſe that were fed on the leaves of the Red Mulberry. The fourth ſort, again, that had been fed with the leaves of the White Sugar-Mulberry, had but little ſilk; it was indeed as fine as the preceding, but it was ſo weak and ſo brittle, that it was with great difficulty they could wind it.

Theſe are the experiments of this lady on ſilk-worms, which every one may make his own uſes of, in order to have the ſorts of ſilk, mulberries, or worms, that are moſt ſuitable to his purpoſe, and moſt likely to turn to his account: which we are very glad of this opportunity to inform them of, that they may ſee how much ſociety owes to thoſe perſons who take care to ſtudy nature, in order to promote induſtry and public utility.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Of Indigo, Tobacco, Cotton, Wax, Hops, *and* Saffron.

THE high lands of Louiſiana produce a natural Indigo: what I ſaw in two or three places where I have obſerved it, grew at the edges of the thick woods, which ſhews it delights in a good, but light ſoil. One of theſe ſtalks was but ten or twelve inches high, its wood at leaſt three lines in diameter, and of as fine a green as its leaf; it was as tender as the rib of a cabbage leaf; when its head was blown a little, the two other ſtalks ſhot in a few days, the one ſeventeen, the other nineteen inches high; the ſtem was ſix lines thick below, and of a very lively green, and ſtill very tender, the lower part only began to turn brown a little; the tops of both were equally ill furniſhed with leaves, and without branches; which makes it to be preſumed, that being ſo thriving and of ſo fine a growth, it would have ſhot very high, and ſurpaſs in vigour and heighth the cultivated Indigo. The ſtalk of the Indigo, cultivated by the French at the Natchez, turned brown before it ſhot eleven or twelve inches; when in ſeed it was five feet high and upwards, and ſurpaſſed in vigour what was cultivated in the Lower Louiſiana, that is, in the quarter about New Orleans: but the natural, which I had an opportunity of ſeeing only young and tender, promiſed to become much taller and ſtouter than ours, and to yield more.

The Indigo cultivated in Louiſiana comes from the iſlands; its grain is of the bigneſs of one line, and about a quarter longer, brown and hard, flatted at the extremities, becauſe it is compreſſed in its pod. This grain is ſown in a ſoil prepared like a garden, and the field where it is cultivated is called the Indigo-garden. In order to ſow it, holes are made on a ſtraight line with a ſmall hoe, a foot aſunder; in each hole four or five ſeeds are put,

put, which are covered with earth; great care is had not to ſuffer any ſtrange plants to grow near it, which would choak it; and it is ſown a foot aſunder, to the end it may draw the fuller nouriſhment, and be weeded without grazing or ruffling the leaf, which is that which gives the Indigo. When its leaf is quite come to its ſhape, it reſembles exactly that of the Acacia, ſo well known in France, only that it is ſmaller.

It is cut with large pruning-knives, or a ſort of ſickles, with about ſix or ſeven inches aperture, which ſhould be pretty ſtrong. It ought to be cut before its wood hardens; and to be green as its leaf, which ought, however, to have a blueiſh eye or caſt. When cut it is conveyed into the rotting-tub, as we ſhall preſently explain. According as the ſoil is better or worſe, it ſhoots higher or lower; the tuft of the firſt cutting, which grows round, does not exceed eight inches in heighth and breadth: the ſecond cutting riſes ſometimes to a foot. In cutting the Indigo you are to ſet your foot upon the root, in order to prevent the pulling it out of the earth; and to be upon your guard not to cut yourſelf, as the tool is dangerous.

In order to make an Indigo-work, a ſhed is firſt of all to be built: this building is at leaſt twenty feet high, without walls or flooring, but only covered. The whole is built upon poſts, which may be cloſed with mats, if you pleaſe: this building has twenty feet in breadth, and at leaſt thirty in length. In this ſhed three vats or large tubs are ſet in ſuch a manner, that the water may be eaſily drained off from the firſt, which is the lowermoſt and ſmalleſt. The ſecond reſts with the edge of its bottom on the upper edge of the firſt, ſo that the water may eaſily run from it into the one below. This ſecond vat is not broader but deeper than the firſt, and is called the Battery; for this reaſon it has its beaters, which are little buckets formed of four ends of boards, about eight inches long, which together have the figure of the hopper of a mill;

mill; a ſtick runs acroſs them, which is put into a wooden fork, in order to beat the Indigo: there are two of them on each ſide, which in all make four.

The third vat is placed in the ſame manner over the ſecond, and is as big again, that it may hold the leaves; it is called the Rotting-tub, becauſe the leaves which are put into it are deadened, not corrupted or ſpoiled therein. The Indigo-operator, who conducts the whole work, knows when it is time to let the water into the ſecond vat; then he lets go the cock; for if the leaves were left too long, the Indigo would be too black; it muſt have no more time than what is ſufficient to diſcharge a kind of flower or froth that is found upon the leaf.

The water, when it is all in the ſecond vat, is beat till the Indigo-operator gives orders to ceaſe; which he does not before he has ſeveral times taken up ſome of this water with a ſilver cup, by way of aſſay, in order to know the exact time in which they ought to give over beating the water: and this is a ſecret which practice alone can teach with certainty.

When the Indigo-operator finds that the water is ſufficiently beaten, he lets it ſettle till he can draw off the water clear; which is done by means of ſeveral cocks one above another, for fear of loſing the Indigo. For this purpoſe, if the water is clear, the higheſt cock is opened, the ſecond in like manner, till the water is obſerved to be tinged; then they ſhut the cock: the ſame is done in all the cocks till all the Indigo be in a pap at the bottom of the ſecond vat. The firſt, or ſmall vat, ſerves only to purify the water which is found to be tinged, and let run while clear.

When the Indigo is well ſettled, they put it in cloth bags a foot long and ſix inches wide, with a ſmall circle at top, which helps to receive the Indigo with eaſe; it is ſuffered to drain till it gives no more water: however,

it

it muſt be moiſt enough to ſpread it in the mould with a wooden knife or ſpatula.

In order to have the ſeed, they ſuffer it to run up as many feet as they foreſee ſhall be neceſſary for ſeed; it ſhoots four or five feet high, according to the quality of the ſoil. There are four cuttings of it in the iſlands, where the climate is warmer; three good cuttings are made in Louiſiana, and of as good a quality at leaſt as in the iſlands.

Tobacco, which was found among the Indians of Louiſiana, ſeems alſo to be a native of the country, ſeeing their ancient tradition informs us, that from time immemorial they have, in their treaties of peace and in their embaſſies, uſed the pipe, the principal uſe of which is that the deputies ſhall all ſmoke therein. This native Tobacco is very large; its ſtalk, when ſuffered to run to ſeed, ſhoots to five feet and a half and ſix feet; the lower part of its ſtem is at leaſt eighteen lines in diameter, and its leaves often near two feet long, which are thick and ſucculent; its juice is ſtrong, but never diſorders the head. The Tobacco of Virginia has a broader but ſhorter leaf; its ſtalk is ſmaller, and runs not up ſo high; its ſmell is not diſagreeable, but not ſo ſtrong; it takes more plants to make a pound, becauſe its leaf is thinner, and not ſo full of ſap as the native. What is cultivated in the Lower Louiſiana is ſmaller, and not ſo ſtrong; but that made in the iſlands is thinner than that of Louiſiana, but much ſtronger, and diſorders the head.

In order to ſow Tobacco, you make a bed on the beſt piece of ground you are maſter of, and give it ſix inches in heighth; this earth you beat and make level with the back of a ſpade; you afterwards ſow the ſeed, which is extremely fine, nearly reſembling poppy ſeed. It muſt be ſown thin, and notwithſtanding that attention, it often happens to be too thick. When the ſeed is ſown, the earth is no longer ſtirred, but the ſeed is covered with aſhes

aſhes the thickneſs of a farthing, to prevent the worms from eating the tobacco when it is juſt ſhooting out of the earth.

As ſoon as the tobacco has four leaves, it is tranſplanted into a ſoil prepared for it, put into holes a foot broad made in a line, and diſtant three feet every way; a diſtance not too great, in order to weed it with eaſe, without breaking the leaves.

The beſt time for tranſplanting it is after rain, otherwiſe you muſt water it: in like manner, when the ſeed is in the earth, if it rains not, you muſt gently ſprinkle it towards evening, becauſe it is ſomewhat ſlow in riſing, and when it is ſprouted it requires a little water. You muſt lightly cover the plant in the day time with ſome leaves plucked the night before; a precaution on no account to be diſpenſed with, till the young plant has fully ſtruck root. You muſt alſo daily viſit the tobacco, to clear it of caterpillars, which faſten upon it, and would entirely eat it up, if they are not deſtroyed. The tobacco-caterpillar is of the ſhape of a ſilk-worm, has a prickle on its back towards its extremity; its colour is of the moſt beautiful ſea-green, ſtriped with ſilver-ſtreaks; in a word, it is as beautiful to the eye as it is fatal to the plant it is fond of.

I gave great attention to keep my plantation clear of all weeds, obſerving in weeding it with the hoe not to touch the ſtalks, about which I cauſed to lay new earth, as well to ſecure them againſt guſts of wind, as to enable them to draw from the earth a more abundant nouriſhment. When the tobacco began to put forth ſuckers, I plucked them off, becauſe they would have ſhot into branches, which would impoveriſh the leaves, and for the ſame reaſon ſtopped the tobacco from ſhooting above the twelfth leaf, afterwards ſtripping off the four lowermoſt, which never come to any thing. Hitherto I did nothing but what was ordinarily done by thoſe who cultivate tobacco

with ſome degree of care; but my method of proceeding afterwards was different.

I ſaw my neighbours ſtrip the leaves of tobacco from the ſtalk, ſtring them, ſet them to dry, by hanging them out in the air, then put them in heaps, to make them ſweat. As for me, I carefully examined the plant, and when I obſerved the ſtem begin to turn yellow here and there, I cauſed the ſtalk to be cut with a pruning-knife, and left it for ſome time on the earth to deaden. Afterwards it was carried off, on hand-barrows, becauſe it is thus leſs expoſed to be broken than on the necks of negroes. When it was brought to the houſe, I cauſed it to be hung up, with the big end of the ſtem turned upwards, the leaves of each ſtalk ſlightly touching one another, being well aſſured they would ſhrivel in drying, and no longer touch each other. It hereby happened, that the juice contained in the pith (ſometimes as big as one's finger) of the ſtem of the plant, flowed into the leaves, and augmenting their ſap, made them much more mild and waxy. As faſt as theſe leaves aſſumed a bright cheſnut colour, I ſtripped them from the ſtalk, and made them directly into bundles, which I wrapped up in a cloth, and bound it cloſe with a cord for twenty four hours; then undoing the cloth, they were tied up cloſer ſtill. This tobacco turned black and ſo waxy, that it could not be raſped in leſs than a year; but then it had a ſubſtance and flavour ſo much the more agreeable, as it never affected the head; and ſo I ſold it for double the price of the common.

The cotton which is cultivated in Louiſiana, is of the ſpecies of the white Siam *, though not ſo ſoft, nor ſo long as the ſilk-cotton; it is extremely white and very fine, and a very good uſe may be made of it. This cotton is

* This Eaſt-India annual cotton has been found to be much better and whiter than what is cultivated in our colonies, which is of the Turkey kind. Both of them keep their colour better in waſhing, and are whiter than the perennial cotton that comes from the iſlands, although this laſt is of a longer ſtaple.

is produced, not from a tree, as in the East-Indies, but from a plant, and thrives much better in light than in ſtrong and fat lands, ſuch as thoſe of the Lower Louiſiana, where it is not ſo fine as on the high grounds.

This plant may be cultivated in lands newly cleared, and not yet proper for tobacco, much leſs for indigo, which requires a ground well worked like a garden. The ſeeds of cotton are planted three feet aſunder, more or leſs according to the quality of the ſoil: the field is weeded at the proper ſeaſon, in order to clear it of the noxious weeds, and freſh earth laid to the root of the plant, to ſecure it againſt the winds. The cotton requires weeding, neither ſo often, nor ſo carefully as other plants; and the care of gathering is the employment of young people, incapable of harder labour.

When the root of the cotton is once covered with freſh earth, and the weeds are removed, it is ſuffered to grow without further touching it, till it arrives to maturity. Then its heads or pods open into five parts, and expoſe their cotton to view. When the ſun has dried the cotton well, it is gathered in a proper manner, and conveyed into the conſervatory; after which comes on the greateſt taſk, which is to ſeparate it from the grain or ſeed to which it cloſely adheres; and it is this part of the work, which diſguſts the inhabitants in the cultivation of it. I contrived a mill for the purpoſe, tried it, and found it to ſucceed, ſo as to diſpatch the work very much.

The culture of indigo, tobacco, and cotton, may be eaſily carried on without any interruption to the making of ſilk, as any one of theſe is no manner of hindrance to the other. In the firſt place, the work about theſe three plants does not come on till after the worms have ſpun their ſilk: in the ſecond place, the feeding and cleaning the ſilk-worm requires no great degree of ſtrength; and thus the care employed about them interrupts no other ſort of work, either as to time, or as to the perſons employed

therein. It ſuffices for this operation to have a perſon who knows how to feed and clean the worms; young negroes of both ſexes might aſſiſt this perſon, little ſkill ſufficing for this purpoſe: the oldeſt of the young negroes, when taught, might ſhift the worms and lay the leaves; the other young negroes gather and fetch them; and all this labour, which takes not up the whole day, laſts only for about ſix weeks. It appears therefore, that the profit made of the ſilk is an additional benefit, ſo much the more profitable, as it diverts not the workmen from their ordinary taſks. If it be objected, that buildings are requiſite to make ſilk to advantage; I anſwer, buildings for the purpoſe coſt very little in a country where wood may be had for taking; I add farther, that theſe buildings may be made and daubed with mud by any perſons about the family; and beſides, may ſerve for hanging tobacco in, two months after the ſilk-worms are gone.

I own I have not ſeen the wax-tree cultivated in Louiſiana; people content themſelves to take the berries of this tree, without being at pains to rear it; but as I am perſuaded it would be very advantageous to make plantations of it, I ſhall give my ſentiments on the culture proper for this tree, after the experiments I made in regard to it.

I had ſome ſeeds of the wax-tree brought me to Fontenai le Comte, in Poictou, ſome of which I gave to ſeveral of my friends, but not one of them came up. I began to reflect, that Poictou not being by far ſo warm as Louiſiana, theſe ſeeds would have difficulty to ſhoot; I therefore thought it was neceſſary to ſupply by art the defect of nature; I procured horſe, cow, ſheep, and pigeon's dung in equal quantity, all which I put in a veſſel of proportionable ſize, and poured on them water, almoſt boiling, in order to diſſolve their ſalts: this water I drew off, and ſteeped the grains in a ſufficient quantity thereof for forty-eight hours; after which I ſowed them in a box full of good earth; ſeven of them came up, and made ſhoots between ſeven and eight

eight inches high, but they were all killed by the froſt for want of putting them into the green-houſe.

This ſeed having ſuch difficulty to come up, I preſume that the wax, in which it is wrapped up, hinders the moiſture from penetrating into, and making its kernel ſhoot; and therefore I ſhould think that thoſe who chooſe to ſow it, would do well if they previouſly rolled it lightly between two ſmall boards juſt rough from the ſaw; this friction would cauſe the pellicle of wax to ſcale off with ſo much the greater facility, as it is naturally very dry; and then it might be put to ſteep.

Hops grow naturally in Louiſiana, yet ſuch as have a deſire to make uſe of them for themſelves, or ſell them to brewers, cultivate this plant. It is planted in alleys, diſtant aſunder ſix feet, in holes two feet and one foot deep, in which the root is lodged. When ſhot a good deal, a pole of the ſize of one's arm, and between twelve and fifteen feet long, is fixed in the hole; care is had to direct the ſhoots towards it, which fail not to run up the pole. When the flower is ripe and yellowiſh, the ſtem is cut quite cloſe to the earth and the pole pulled out, in order to pick the flowers, which are ſaved.

If we conſider the climate of Louiſiana, and the quality of the high lands of that province, we might eaſily produce ſaffron there. The culture of this plant would be ſo much the more advantageous to the planters, as the neighbourhood of Mexico would procure a quick and uſeful vent for it.

CHAP. X.

Of the Commerce that is, and may be carried on in Louiſiana. *Of the Commodities which that Province may furniſh in return for thoſe of* Europe. *Of the Commerce of* Louiſiana *with the Iſles.*

I HAVE often reflected on the happineſs of France in the portion which Providence has allotted her in America. She has found in her lands neither the gold nor ſilver of Mexico and Peru, nor the precious ſtones and rich ſtuffs of the Eaſt-Indies; but ſhe will find therein, when ſhe pleaſes, mines of iron, lead, and copper. She is there poſſeſſed of a fertile ſoil, which only requires to be occupied in order to produce not only all the fruits neceſſary and agreeable to life, but alſo all the ſubjects on which human induſtry may exerciſe itſelf in order to ſupply our wants. What I have already ſaid of Louiſiana ought to make this very plain; but to bring the whole together, in order, and under one point of view, I ſhall next relate every thing that regards the commerce of this province.

Commodities which Louiſiana *may furniſh in return for thoſe of* Europe.

FRANCE might draw from this colony ſeveral ſorts of furs, which would not be without their value, though held cheap in France; and by their variety, and the uſe that might be made of them, would yield ſatisfaction. Some perſons have diſſuaded the traders from taking any furs from the Indians, on a ſuppoſition that they would be moth-eaten when carried to New-Orleans, on account of the heat of the climate: but I am acquainted with people of the buſineſs, who know how to preſerve them from ſuch an accident.

Dry buffalo hides are of ſufficient value to encourage the Indians to procure them, eſpecially if they were told,

that only their ſkins and tallow were wanted; they would then kill the old bulls, which are ſo fat as ſcarce to be able to go: each buffalo would yield at leaſt a hundred pounds of tallow; the value of which, with the ſkin, would make it worth their while to kill them, and thus none of our money would be ſent to Ireland in order to have tallow from that country; beſides the ſpecies of buffaloes would not be diminiſhed, becauſe theſe fat buffaloes are always the prey of wolves.

Deer-ſkins, which were bought of the Indians at firſt, did not pleaſe the manufacturers of Niort, where they are dreſſed, becauſe the Indians altered the quality by their way of dreſſing them; but ſince theſe ſkins have been called for without any preparation but taking off the hair, they make more of them, and ſell them cheaper than before.

The wax-tree produces wax, which being much drier than bees-wax, may bear mixture, which will not hinder its laſting longer than bees-wax. Some of this wax was ſent to Paris to a factor of Louiſiana, who ſet ſo low a price upon it as to diſcourage the planters from ſowing any more. The ſordid avarice of this factor has done a ſervice to the iſlands, where it gives a higher price than that of France.

The iſlands alſo draw timber for building from Louiſiana, which might in time prevent France from making her profits of the beauty, goodneſs, and quantity of wood of this province. The quality of the timber is a great inducement to build docks there for the conſtruction of ſhips: the wood might be had at a low price of the inhabitants, becauſe they would get it in winter, which is almoſt an idle time with them. This labour would alſo clear the grounds, and ſo this timber might be had almoſt for nothing. Maſts might be alſo had in the country, on account of the number of pines which the coaſt produces; and for the ſame reaſon pitch and tar would be common.

For the planks of ſhips, there is no want of oak; but might not very good ones be made of cypreſs? this wood is, indeed, ſofter than oak, but endowed with qualities ſurpaſſing this laſt: it is light, not apt to ſplit or warp, is ſupple and eaſily worked; in a word, it is incorruptible both in air and water; and thus making the planks ſtouter than ordinary, there would be no inconvenience from the uſe of cypreſs. I have obſerved, that this wood is not injured by the worm, and ſhip-worms might perhaps have the ſame averſion to it as other worms have.

Other wood fit for the building of ſhips is very common in this country; ſuch as elm, aſh, alder, and others. There are likewiſe in this country ſeveral ſpecies of wood, which might ſell in France for joiners work and fineering, as the cedar, the black walnut, and the cotton-tree. Nothing more would therefore be wanting for compleating ſhips but cordage and iron. As to hemp, it grows ſo ſtrong as to be much fitter for making cables than cloth. The iron might be brought from France, as alſo ſails; however, there needs only to open the iron mine at the cliffs of the Chicaſaws, called Prud'homme, to ſet up forges, and iron will be readily had. The king, therefore, might cauſe all ſorts of ſhipping to be built there at ſo ſmall a charge, that a moderate expence would procure a numerous fleet. If the Engliſh build ſhips in their colonies from which they draw great advantages, why might not we do the ſame in Louiſiana?

France fetches a great deal of ſaltpetre from Holland and Italy; ſhe may draw from Louiſiana more than ſhe will have occaſion for, if once ſhe ſets about it. The great fertility of the country is an evident proof thereof, confirmed by the avidity of cloven-footed animals to lick the earth, in all places where the torrents have broke it up: it is well known how fond theſe creatures are of ſalt. Saltpetre might be made there with all the eaſe imaginable, on account of the plenty of wood and water; it would

would beſides be much more pure than what is commonly had, the earth not being fouled with dunghills; and on the other hand, it would not be dearer than what is now purchaſed by France in other places.

What commerce might not be made with Silk? The ſilk-worms might be reared with much greater ſucceſs in this country than in France, as appears from the trials that have been made, and which I have above related.

The lands of Louiſiana are very proper for the culture of Saffron, and the climate would contribute to produce it in great abundance; and, what would ſtill be a conſiderable advantage, the Spaniards of Mexico, who conſume a great deal of it, would enhance its price.

I have ſpoken of Hemp, in reſpect to the building of ſhips: but ſuch as might be built there, would never be ſufficient to employ all the hemp which might be raiſed in that colony, did the inhabitants cultivate as much of it as they well might. But you will ſay, Why do they not? My anſwer is, the inhabitants of this colony only follow the beaten track they have got into: but if they ſaw an intelligent perſon ſow hemp without any great expence or labour, as the ſoil is very fit for it; if, I ſay, they ſaw that it thrives without weeding; that in the winter evenings the negroes and their children can peel it; in a word, if they ſaw that there is good profit to be had by the ſale of it; they then would all make hemp. They think and act in the ſame manner as to all the other articles of culture in this country.

Cotton is alſo a good commodity for commerce; and the culture of it is attended with no difficulty. The only impediment to the culture of it in a greater quantity, is the difficulty of ſeparating it from the ſeed. However, if they had mills, which would do this work with greater diſpatch, the profit would conſiderably increaſe.

The

The Indigo of Louiſiana, according to intelligent merchants, is as good as that of the iſlands; and has even more of the copper colour. As it thrives extremely well, and yields more herb than in the iſlands, as much Indigo may be made as there, though they have four cuttings, and only three in Louiſiana. The climate is warmer in the iſlands, and therefore they make four gatherings; but the ſoil is drier, and produces not ſo much as Louiſiana: ſo that the three cuttings of this laſt are as good as the four cuttings in the iſlands.

The Tobacco of this colony is ſo excellent, that if the commerce thereof was free, it would ſell for one hundred ſols and ſix livres the pound, ſo fine and delicate is its juice and flavour. Rice may alſo form a fine branch of trade. We go to the Eaſt-Indies for the rice we conſume in France; and why ſhould we draw from foreign countries, what we may have of our own countrymen? We ſhould have it at leſs trouble, and with more ſecurity. Beſides, as ſometimes, perhaps too often, years of ſcarcity happen, we might always depend upon finding rice in Louiſiana, becauſe it is not ſubject to fail, an advantage which few provinces enjoy.

We may add to this commerce ſome drugs, uſed in medicine and dying. As to the firſt, Louiſiana produces Saſſafras, Sarſaparilla, Eſquine, but above all the excellent balm of Copalm (Sweet-gum) the virtues of which, if well known, would ſave the life of many a perſon. This colony alſo furniſhes us with bears oil, which is excellent in all rheumatic pains. For dying, I find only the wood Ayac, or Stinking Wood, for yellow; and the Achetchi for red; of the beauty of which colours we ſhall give an account in the third book.

Such are the commodities which may form a commerce of this colony with France, which laſt may carry in exchange all ſorts of European goods and merchandize; the vent whereof is certain, as every thing anſwers there, where

where luxury reigns equally as in France. Flour, wines, and ſtrong liquors ſell well; and though I have ſpoken of the manner of growing wheat in this country, the inhabitants, towards the lower part of the river eſpecially, will never grow it, any more than they will cultivate the vine, becauſe in theſe ſorts of work a negro will not earn his maſter half as much as in cultivating Tobacco; which, however, is leſs profitable than Indigo.

The Commerce of Louiſiana *with the Iſlands.*

FROM Louiſiana to the Iſlands they carry cypreſs wood ſquared for building, of different ſcantlings: ſometimes they tranſport houſes, all framed and marked out, ready to ſet up, on landing at their place of deſtination.

Bricks, which coſt fourteen or fifteen livres the thouſand, delivered on board the ſhip.

Tiles for covering houſes and ſheds, of the ſame price.

Apalachean beans, (Garavanzas) worth ten livres the barrel, of two hundred weight.

Maiz, or Indian corn.

Cypreſs plank of ten or twelve feet.

Red peas, which coſt in the country twelve or thirteen livres the barrel.

Cleaned rice, which coſts twenty livres the barrel, of two hundred weight.

There is a great profit to be made in the iſlands, by carrying thither the goods I have juſt mentioned: this profit is generally *cent. per cent.* in returns. The ſhipping which go from the colony bring back ſugar, coffee, rum, which the negroes conſume in drink; beſides other goods for the uſe of the country.

The ſhips which come from France to Louiſiana put all in at Cape François. Sometimes there are ſhips, which not having a lading for France, becauſe they may have

have been paid in money or bills of exchange, are obliged to return by Cape François, in order to take in their cargo for France.

CHAP. XI.

Of the Commerce with the Spaniards. *The Commodities they bring to the Colony, if there is a Demand for them. Of such as may be given in return, and may suit them. Reflections on the Commerce of this Province, and the great Advantage which the State and particular Persons may derive therefrom.*

The Commerce with the Spaniards.

THE commodities which suit the Spaniards are sufficiently known by traders, and therefore it is not necessary to give an account of them: I have likewise forebore to give the particulars of the commodities which they carry to this colony, though I know them all: that is not our present business. I shall only apprise such as shall settle in Louisiana, in order to traffick with the Spaniards, that it is not sufficient to be furnished with the principal commodities which suit their commerce, but they should, besides, know how to make the proper assortments; which are most advantageous to us, as well as to them, when they carry them to Mexico.

The Commodities which the Spaniards *bring to* Louisiana, *if there is a demand for them.*

CAMPEACHY wood, which is generally worth from ten to fifteen livres the hundred weight.

Brasil wood, which has a quality superior to that of Campeachy.

Very

Very good Cacoa, which is to be met with in all the ports of Spain, worth between eighteen and twenty livres the quintal, or hundred weight.

Cochineal, which comes from Vera Cruz: there is no difficulty to have as much of it as one can desire, because so near; it is worth fifteen livres the pound: there is an inferior sort, called Sylvester.

Tortoise-shell, which is common in the Spanish islands, is worth seven or eight livres the pound.

Tanned leather, of which they have great quantities; that marked or stamped is worth four livres ten sols the levee.

Marroquin, or Spanish leather, of which they have great quantities, and cheap.

Turned calf, which is also cheap.

Indigo, which is manufactured at Guatimala, is worth three or four livres the pound: there is of it of a perfect good quality, and therefore sells at twelve livres the pound.

Sarsaparilla, which they have in very great quantities, and sell at thirteen or fifteen sols.

Havanna snuff, which is of different prices and qualities: I have seen it at three shillings the pound, which in our money make thirty-seven sols six deniers.

Vanilla, which is of different prices. They have many other things very cheap, on which great profits might be made, and for which an easy vent may be found in Europe; especially for their drugs: but a particular detail would carry me too far, and make me lose sight of the object I had in view.

What I have just said of the commerce of Louisiana, may easily shew that it will necessarily encrease in proportion as the country is peopled; and industry also will be brought to perfection. For this purpose nothing more is requisite

than

than ſome inventive and induſtrious geniuſes, who coming from Europe, may diſcover ſuch objects of commerce as may turn to account. I imagine a good tanner might in this colony tan the leather of the country, and cheaper than in France; I even imagine that the leather might there be brought to its perfection in leſs time; and what makes me think ſo, is, that I have heard it averred, that the Spaniſh leather is extremely good, and is never above three or four months in the tan-pit.

The ſame will hold of many other things, which would prevent money going out of the kingdom to foreign countries. Would it not be more ſuitable and more uſeful, to deviſe means of drawing the ſame commodities from our own colonies? As theſe means are ſo eaſy, at leaſt money would not go out of our hands; France and her colonies would be as two families who traffick together, and render each other mutual ſervice. Beſides, there would not be occaſion for ſo much money to carry on a commerce to Louiſiana, ſeeing the inhabitants have need of European goods. It would therefore be a commerce very different from that which, without exporting the merchandiſe of the kingdom, exports the money; a commerce ſtill very different from that which carries to France commodities highly prejudicial to our own manufactures.

I may add to all that I have ſaid on Louiſiana, as one of the great advantages of this country, that women are very fruitful in it, which they attribute to the waters of the Miſſiſippi. Had the intentions of the Company been purſued, and their orders executed, there is no doubt but this colony had at this day been very ſtrong, and bleſſed with a numerous young progeny, whom no other climate would allure to go and ſettle in; but being retained by the beauty of their own, they would improve its riches, and multiplied anew in a ſhort time, could offer their mother-country ſuccours in men and ſhips, and in many other things that are not to be contemned.

I cannot

I cannot too much ſhew the importance of the ſuccours in corn, which this colony might furniſh in a time of ſcarcity. In a bad year we are obliged to carry our money to foreigners for corn, which has been oftentimes purchaſed in France, becauſe they have had the ſecret of preſerving their corn; but if the colony of Louiſiana was once well ſettled, what ſupplies of corn might not be received from that fruitful country? I ſhall give two reaſons which will confirm my opinion.

The firſt is, That the inhabitants always grow more corn than is neceſſary for the ſubſiſtence of themſelves, their workmen, and ſlaves. I own, that in the lower part of the colony only rice could be had, but this is always a great ſupply. Now, were the colony gradually ſettled to the Arkanſas, they would grow wheat and rye in as great quantities as one could well deſire, which would be of great ſervice to France, when her crops happen to fail.

The ſecond reaſon is, That in this colony a ſcarcity is never to be apprehended. On my arrival in it, I informed myſelf of what had happened therein from 1700, and I myſelf remained in it till 1734; and ſince my return to France I have had accounts from it down to this preſent year 1757; and from theſe accounts I can aver, that no intemperature of ſeaſon has cauſed any ſcarcity ſince the beginning of this century. I was witneſs to one of the ſevereſt winters that had been known in that country in the memory of the oldeſt people living; but proviſions were then not dearer than in other years. The ſoil of this province being excellent, and the ſeaſons always ſuitable, the proviſions and other commodities cultivated in it never fail to thrive ſurprizingly.

One will, perhaps, be ſurprized to hear me promiſe ſuch fine things of a country which has been reckoned to be ſo much inferior to the Spaniſh or Portugueſe colonies in America; but ſuch as will take the trouble to reflect on

that

that which conſtitutes the genuine ſtrength of ſtates, and the real goodneſs of a country, will ſoon alter their opinion, and agree with me, that a country fertile in men, in productions of the earth, and in neceſſary metals, is infinitely preferable to countries from which men draw gold, ſilver, and diamonds: the firſt effect of which is to pamper luxury and render the people indolent; and the ſecond to ſtir up the avarice of neighbouring nations. I therefore boldly aver, that Louiſiana, well governed, would not long fail to fulfil all I have advanced about it; for though there are ſtill ſome nations of Indians who might prove enemies to the French, the ſettlers, by their martial character, and their zeal for their king and country, aided by a few troops, commanded, above all, by good officers, who at the ſame time know how to command the coloniſts: the ſettlers, I ſay, will be always match enough for them, and prevent any foreigners whatever from invading the country. What would therefore be the conſequence if, as I have projected, the firſt nation that ſhould become our enemy were attacked in the manner I have laid down in my reflections on an Indian war? They would be directly brought to ſuch a paſs as to make all other nations tremble at the very name of the French, and to be ever cautious of making war upon them. Not to mention the advantage there is in carrying on wars in this manner; for as they coſt little, as little do they hazard the loſs of lives.

In 1734, M. Perier, Governor of Louiſiana, was relieved by M. de Biainville, and the King's plantation put on a new footing, by an arrangement ſuitable to the notions of the perſon who adviſed it. A ſycophant, who wanted to make his court to Cardinal Fleury, would perſuade that miniſter, that the plantation coſt his Majeſty ten thouſand livres a year, and that this ſum might be well ſaved; but took care not to tell his Eminence, that for theſe ten thouſand it ſaved at leaſt fifty thouſand livres.

Upon

Upon this, my place of Director of the public plantations was aboliſhed, and I at length reſolved to quit the colony and return to France, notwithſtanding all the fair promiſes and warm ſolicitations of my ſuperiors to prevail upon me to ſtay. A King's ſhip, La Gironde, being ready to ſail, I went down the river in her to Baliſe, and from thence we ſet ſail, on the 10th of May, 1734. We had tolerable fine weather to the mouth of the Bahama Streights; afterwards we had the wind contrary, which retarded our voyage for a week about the banks of Newfoundland, to which we were obliged to ſtretch for a wind to carry us to France: from thence we made the paſſage without any croſs accident, and happily arrived in the road of Chaidbois before Rochelle, on the 25th of June following, which made it a paſſage of forty-five days from Louiſiana to France.

Some Abſtracts from the Hiſtorical Memoirs of Louiſiana, *by M.* Du Mont.

I.

Of Tobacco, *with the way of cultivating and curing it.*

THE Lands of Louiſiana are as proper as could be deſired, for the culture of tobacco; and, without deſpiſing what is made in other countries, we may affirm, that the tobacco which grows in the country of the Natchez, is even preferable to that of Virginia or St. Domingo; I ſay, in the country of the Natchez, becauſe the ſoil at that poſt appears to be more ſuitable to this plant than any other: although it muſt be owned, that there is but very little difference betwixt the tobacco which grows there and in ſome other parts of the colony, as at the Cut-point, at the Nachitoches, and even at New Orleans; but whether it is owing to the expoſure, or to the goodneſs of the ſoil, it is allowed that the tobacco of the Natchez and Yaſous is preferable to the reſt.

The way of planting and curing tobacco in this country, is as follows: they ſow it on beds well worked with the hoe or ſpade in the months of December, January, or February; and becauſe the ſeed is very ſmall, they mix it with aſhes, that it may be thinner ſowed: then they rake the beds, and trample them with their feet, or clap them with a plank, that the ſeed may take ſooner in the ground. The tobacco does not come up till a month afterwards, or even for a longer time; and then they ought to take great care to cover the beds with ſtraw or cypreſs-bark, to preſerve the plants from the white froſts, that are very common in that ſeaſon. There are two ſorts of tobacco; the one with a long and ſharp-pointed leaf, the other has a round and hairy leaf; which laſt they reckon the beſt ſort.

At the end of April, and about St. George's day, the plants have about four leaves, and then they pull the beſt

beſt and ſtrongeſt of them: theſe they plant out on their tobacco-ground by a line ſtretched acroſs it, and at three feet diſtance one from another: this they do either with a planting-ſtick, or with their finger, leaving a hole on one ſide of the plant, to receive the water, with which they ought to water it. The tobacco being thus planted, it ſhould be looked over evening and morning, in order to deſtroy a black worm, which eats the bud of the plant, and afterwards buries itſelf in the ground. If any of the plants are eat by this worm, you muſt ſet another one by it. You muſt chooſe a rainy ſeaſon to plant your tobacco, and you ſhould water it three times to make it take root. But they never work their ground in this country to plant their tobacco; they reckon it ſufficient to ſtir it a little about four inches ſquare round the plant.

When the tobacco is about four or five inches high, they weed it, and clean the ground all about it, and hill up every plant. They do the ſame again, when it is about a foot and a half high. And when the plant has about eight or nine leaves, and is ready to put forth a ſtalk, they nip off the top, which they call topping the tobacco: this amputation makes the leaves grow longer and thicker. After this, you muſt look over every plant, and every leaf, in order to ſucker it, or to pull off the buds, which grow at the joints of the leaves; and at the ſame time you muſt deſtroy the large green worms that are found on the tobacco, which are often as large as a man's finger, and would eat up the whole plant in a night's time.

After this, you muſt take care to have ready a hanger (or tobacco-houſe,) which in Louiſiana they make in the following manner: they ſet ſeveral poſts in the ground, at equal diſtances from one another, and lay a beam or plate on the top of them, making thus the form of a houſe of an oblong ſquare. In the middle of this ſquare they ſet up two forks, about one third higher than the poſts, and lay a pole croſs them, for the ridge-pole

of the building; upon which they nail the rafters, and cover them with cypreſs-bark, or palmetto-leaves. The firſt ſettlers likewiſe build their dwelling-houſes in this manner, which anſwer the purpoſe very well, and as well as the houſes which their carpenters build for them, eſpecially for the curing of tobacco; which they hang in theſe houſes upon ſticks or canes, laid acroſs the building, and about four feet and a half aſunder, one above another.

The tobacco-houſe being ready, you wait till your tobacco is ripe, and fit to be cut; which you may know by the leaves being brittle, and eaſily broke between the fingers, eſpecially in the morning before ſun-riſing; but thoſe verſed in it know when the tobacco is fit to cut by the looks of it, and at firſt ſight. You cut your tobacco with a knife as nigh the ground as you can, after which you lay it upon the ground for ſome time, that the leaves may fall, or grow tender, and not break in carrying. When you carry your tobacco to the houſe, you hang it firſt at the top by pairs, or two plants together, thus continuing from ſtory to ſtory, taking care that the plants thus hung are about two inches aſunder, and that they do not touch one another, leſt they ſhould rot. In this manner they fill their whole houſe with tobacco, and leave it to ſweat and dry.

After the tobacco is cut, they weed and clean the ground on which it grew: each root then puts out ſeveral ſuckers, which are all pulled off, and only one of the beſt is left to grow, of which the ſame care is taken as of the firſt crop. By this means a ſecond crop is made on the ſame ground, and ſometimes a third. Theſe ſeconds, indeed, as they are called, do not uſually grow ſo high as the firſt plant, but notwithſtanding they make very good tobacco *.

If

* This is an advantage that they have in Louiſiana over our tobacco planters, who are prohibited by law to cultivate theſe ſeconds; the ſummers are ſo ſhort, that they do not come to due maturity in our tobacco colonies;

If you have a mind to make your tobacco into rolls, there is no occaſion to wait till the leaves are perfectly dry; but as ſoon as they have acquired a yelloviſh brown colour, although the ſtem is green, you unhang your tobacco, and ſtrip the leaves from the ſtalks, lay them up in heaps, and cover them with woollen cloths, in order to ſweat them. After that you ſtem the tobacco, or pull out the middle rib of the leaf, which you throw away with the ſtalks, as good for nothing; laying by the longeſt and largeſt of the leaves, that are of a good blackiſh brown colour, and keep them for a covering for your rolls. After this you take a piece of coarſe linen cloth, at leaſt eight inches broad and a foot long, which you ſpread on the ground, and on it lay the large leaves you have picked out, and the others over them in handfuls, taking care always to have more in the middle than at the ends: then you roll the tobacco up in the cloth, tying it in the middle and at each end. When you have made a ſufficient number of theſe bundles, the negroes roll them up as hard as they can with a cord about as big as the little finger, which is commonly about fifteen or ſixteen fathom long: you tighten them three times, ſo as to make them as hard

colonies; whereas in Louiſiana the ſummers are two or three months longer, by which they make two or three crops of tobacco a year upon the ſame ground, as eaſily as we make one. Add to this, their freſh lands will produce three times as much of that commodity, as our old plantations; which are now worn out with culture, by ſupplying the whole world almoſt with tobacco for a hundred and fifty years. Now if their tobacco is worth five and ſix ſhillings a pound, as we are told above, or even the tenth part of it, when ours is worth but two pence or three pence, and they give a bounty upon ſhips going to the Miſſiſippi, when our tobacco is loaded with a duty equal to ſeven times its prime coſt; they may, with all theſe advantages, ſoon get this trade from us, the only one this nation has left entire to itſelf. Theſe advantages enable the planters to give a much better price for ſervants and ſlaves, and thereby to engroſs the trade. It was by theſe means, that the French got the ſugar trade from us, after the treaty of Utrecht, by being allowed to tranſport their people from St. Chriſtopher's to the rich and freſh lands of St. Domingo; and by removing from Canada to Louiſiana, they may in the like manner get not only this, but every other branch of the trade of North America.

as poſſible; and to keep them ſo, you tie them up with a ſtring.

But ſince the time of the Weſt India company, we have ſeldom cured our tobacco in this manner, if it is not for our own uſe; we now cure it in hands, or bundles of the leaves, which they pack in hogſheads, and deliver it thus in France to the farmers general. In order to cure the tobacco in this manner, they wait till the leaves of the ſtem are perfectly dry, and in moiſt, giving weather, they ſtrip the leaves from the ſtalk, till they have a handful of them, called a hand, or bundle of tobacco, which they tie up with another leaf. Theſe bundles they lay in heaps, in order to ſweat them, for which purpoſe they cover thoſe heaps with blankets, and lay boards or planks over them. But you ſhould take care that the tobacco is not over-heated, and does not take fire, which may eaſily happen; for which purpoſe you uncover your heaps from time to time, and give the tobacco air, by ſpreading it abroad. This you continue to do till you find no more heat in the tobacco; then you pack it in hogſheads, and may tranſport it any where, without danger either of its heating or rotting.

II.

Of the way of making Indigo.

The blue ſtone, known by the name of Indigo, is the extract of a plant which they who have a ſufficient number of ſlaves to manage it, make ſome quantities throughout all this colony. For this purpoſe they firſt weed the ground, and make ſmall holes in it with a hoe, about five inches aſunder, and on a ſtraight line. In each of theſe holes they put five or ſix ſeeds of the indigo, which are ſmall, long, and hard. When they come up, they put forth leaves ſomewhat like thoſe of box, but a little longer and broader, and not ſo thick and indented. When

the

the plant is five or ſix inches high, they take care to looſen the earth about the root, and at the ſame time to weed it. They reckon it has acquired a proper maturity, when it is about three feet and a half high: this you may likewiſe know, if the leaf cracks as you ſqueeze the plant in your hand.

Before you cut it, you get ready a place that is covered in the ſame manner with the one made for tobacco, about twenty-five feet high; in which you put three vats, one above another, as it were in different ſtories, ſo that the higheſt is the largeſt; that in the middle is ſquare, and the deepeſt; the third, at bottom, is the leaſt.

After theſe operations, you cut the indigo, and when you have ſeveral arms-full, or bundles of the plant, to the quantity judged neceſſary for one working, you fill the vat at leaſt three quarters full; after which you pour water thereon up to the brim, and the plant is left to ſteep, in order to rot it; which is the reaſon why this vat is called the rotting-tub. For the three or four hours which the plant takes to rot, the water is impregnated with its virtue; and, though the plant is green, communicates thereto a blue colour.

At the bottom of the great vat, and where it bears on the one in the middle (which, as was ſaid, is ſquare) is a pretty large hole, ſtopped with a bung; which is opened when the plant is thought to be ſufficiently rotten, and all the water of this vat, mixed with the mud, formed by the rotting of the plant, falls by this hole into the ſecond vat; on the edges of which are placed, at proper diſtances, forks of iron or wood, on which large long poles are laid, which reach from the two ſides to the middle of the water in the vat; the end plunged in the water is furniſhed with a bucket without a bottom. A number of ſlaves lay hold on theſe poles, by the end which is out of the water; and alternately pulling them down, and then letting the buckets fall into the vat, they thus continue to

beat the water; which being thus agitated and churned, comes to be covered with a white and thick ſcum; and in ſuch quantity as that it would riſe up and flow over the brim of the vat, if the operator did not take care to throw in, from time to time, ſome fiſh-oil, which he ſprinkles with a feather upon this ſcum. For theſe reaſons this vat is called the battery.

They continue to beat the water for an hour and a half, or two hours; after which they give over, and the water is left to ſettle. However, they from time to time open three holes, which are placed at proper diſtances from top to bottom in one of the ſides of this ſecond vat, in order to let the water run off clear. This is repeated for three ſeveral times; but when at the third time the muddy water is ready to come out at the lowermoſt hole, they ſtop it, and open another pierced in the lower part of that ſide, which reſts on the third vat. Then all the muddy water falls through that hole of the ſecond vat into the third, which is the leaſt, and is called the *deviling (diablotin.)*

They have ſacks, a foot long, made of a pretty cloſe cloth, which they fill with this liquid thick matter, and hang them on nails round the indigo-houſe. The water drains out gradually; and the matter which is left behind, reſembles a real mud, which they take out of theſe ſacks, and put in moulds, made like little drawers, two feet long by half a foot broad, and with a border, or ledge, an inch and a half high. Then they lay them out in the ſun, which draws off all the moiſture: and as this mud comes to dry, care is taken to work it with a maſon's trowel: at length it forms a body, which holds together, and is cut in pieces, while freſh, with wire. It is in this manner that they draw from a green herb this fine blue colour, of which there are two ſorts, one of which is of a purple dove colour.

III.

III.

Of Tar; the way of making it; and of making it into Pitch.

I have ſaid, that they made a great deal of tar in this colony, from pines and firs; which is done in the following manner. It is a common miſtake, that tar is nothing but the ſap or gum of the pine, drawn from the tree by inciſion; the largeſt trees would not yield two pounds by this method; and if it were to be made in that manner, you muſt chooſe the moſt thriving and flouriſhing trees for the purpoſe; whereas it is only made from the trees that are old, and are beginning to decay, becauſe the older they are, the greater quantities they contain of that fat bituminous ſubſtance, which yields tar; it is even proper that the tree ſhould be felled a long time, before they uſe them for this purpoſe. It is uſually towards the mouth of the river, and along the ſea-coaſts, that they make tar; becauſe it is in thoſe places that the pines chiefly grow.

When they have a ſufficient number of theſe trees, that are fit for the purpoſe, they ſaw them in cuts with a croſs-cut ſaw, about two feet in length; and while the ſlaves are employed in ſawing them, others ſplit theſe cuts lengthwiſe into ſmall pieces, the ſmaller the better. They ſometimes ſpend three or four months in cutting and preparing the trees in this manner. In the mean time they make a ſquare hollow in the ground, four or five feet broad, and five or ſix inches deep: from one ſide of which goes off a canal or gutter, which diſcharges itſelf into a large and pretty deep pit, at the diſtance of a few paces. From this pit proceeds another canal, which communicates with a ſecond pit; and even from the firſt ſquare you make three or four ſuch trenches, which diſcharge themſelves into as many pits, according to the quantity

quantity of wood you have, or the quantity of tar you imagine you may draw from it. Then you lay over the ſquare hole four or five pretty ſtrong bars of iron, and upon theſe bars you arrange croſs-wiſe the ſplit pieces of pine, of which you ſhould have a quantity ready; laying them ſo, that there may be a little air between them. In this manner you raiſe a large and high pyramid of the wood, and when it is finiſhed, you ſet fire to it at the top. As the wood burns, the fire melts the reſin in the pine, and this liquid tar diſtills into the ſquare hole, and from thence runs into the pits made to receive it.

If you would make pitch of this tar, take two or three red-hot cannon bullets, and throw them into the pits, full of the tar, which you intend for this purpoſe: immediately upon which, the tar takes fire with a terrible noiſe and a horrible thick ſmoke, by which the moiſture that may remain in the tar is conſumed and diſſipated, and the maſs diminiſhes in proportion; and when they think it is ſufficiently burnt, they extinguiſh the fire, not with water, but with a hurdle covered with turf and earth. As it grows cold, it becomes hard and ſhining, ſo that you cannot take it out of the pits, but by cutting it with an axe.

IV.

Of the Mines of Louiſiana.

BEFORE we quit this ſubject, I ſhall conclude this account by anſwering a queſtion, which has often been propoſed to me. Are there any Mines, ſay they, in this province? There are, without all diſpute; and that is ſo certain, and ſo well known, that they who have any knowledge of this country never once called it in queſtion. And it is allowed by all, that there are to be found in this country quarries of plaſter of Paris, ſlate, and very fine veined marble; and I have learned from one of my

my friends, who as well as myſelf had been a great way on diſcoveries, that in travelling this province he had found a place full of fine ſtones of rock-cryſtal. As for my ſhare, I can affirm, without endeavouring to impoſe on any one, that in one of my excurſions I found, upon the river of the Arkanſas, a rivulet that rolled down with its waters gold-duſt; from which there is reaſon to believe that there are mines of this metal in that country. And as for ſilver-mines, there is no doubt but they might be found there, as well as in New Mexico, on which this province borders. A Canadian traveller, named Bon Homme, as he was hunting at ſome diſtance from the Poſt of the Nachitoches, melted ſome parcels of a mine, that is found in rocks at a very little diſtance from that Poſt, which appeared to be very good ſilver, without any farther purification *.

It will be objected to me, perhaps, that if there is any truth in what I advance, I ſhould have come from that country laden with ſilver and gold; and that if theſe precious metals are to be found there, as I have ſaid, it is ſurprizing that the French have never thought of diſcovering and digging them in thirty years, in which they have been ſettled in Louiſiana. To this I anſwer, that this objection is only founded on the ignorance of thoſe who make it; and that a traveller, or an officer, ordered by his ſuperiors to go to reconnoitre the country, to draw plans, and to give an account of what he has ſeen, in nothing but immenſe woods and deſerts, where they cannot ſo much as find a path, but what is made by the wild beaſts; I ſay, that ſuch people have enough to do to take care of themſelves and of their preſent buſineſs, inſtead of gathering riches; and think it ſufficient, that they return in a whole ſkin.

With regard to the negligence that the French ſeem hitherto to have ſhewn in ſearching for theſe mines, and in

* See a farther account and aſſay of this mine above.

in digging them, we ought to take due notice, that in order to open a ſilver-mine, for example, you muſt advance at leaſt a hundred thouſand crowns, before you can expect to get a penny of profit from it, and that the people of the country are not in a condition to be at any ſuch charge. Add to this, that the inhabitants are too ignorant of theſe mines; the Spaniards, their neighbours, are too diſcreet to teach them; and the French in Europe are too backward and timorous to engage in ſuch an undertaking. But notwithſtanding, it is certain that the thing has been already done, and that juſt reaſons, without doubt, but different from an impoſſibility, have cauſed it to be laid aſide.

This author gives a like account of the culture of Rice in Louiſiana, and of all the other ſtaple commodities of our colonies in North America.

Extract

Extract from a late French *Writer, concerning the Importance of* Louiſiana *to* France.

"ONE cannot help lamenting the lethargic ſtate of that colony, (Louiſiana) which carries in its boſom the bed of the greateſt riches; and in order to produce them, aſks only arms proper for tilling the earth, which is wholly diſpoſed to yield an hundred fold. Thanks to the fertility of our iſlands, our Sugar plantations are infinitely ſuperior to thoſe of the Engliſh, and we likewiſe excel them in our productions of Indigo, Coffee, and Cotton.

"Tobacco is the only production of the earth which gives the Engliſh an advantage over us. Providence, which reſerved for us the diſcovery of Louiſiana, has given us the poſſeſſion of it, that we may be their rivals in this particular, or at leaſt that we may be able to do without their Tobacco. Ought we to continue tributaries to them in this reſpect, when we can ſo eaſily do without them?

"I cannot help remarking here, that among ſeveral projects preſented of late years for giving new force to this colony, a company of creditable merchants propoſed to furniſh negroes to the inhabitants, and to be paid for them in Tobacco alone at a fixed valuation.

"The following advantages, they demonſtrated, would attend their ſcheme. I. It would increaſe a branch of commerce in France, which affords ſubſiſtence to two of the Engliſh colonies in America, namely Virginia and Maryland, the inhabitants of which conſume annually a very conſiderable quantity of Engliſh ſtuffs, and employ a great number of ſhips in the tranſportation of their Tobacco. The inhabitants of thoſe two provinces are ſo greatly multiplied, in conſequence of the riches they have acquired by their commerce with us, that they begin

to ſpread themſelves upon territories that belong to us. II. The ſecond advantage ariſing from the ſcheme would be, to carry the cultivation of Tobacco to its greateſt extent and perfection. III. To diminiſh in proportion the cultivation of the Engliſh plantations, as well as leſſen their navigation in that part. IV. To put an end entirely to the importation of any Tobacco from Great-Britain into France, in the ſpace of twelve years. V. To diminiſh annually, and in the ſame ſpace of time finally put an end to, the exportation of ſpecie from France to Great-Britain, which amounts annually to five millions of our money for the purchaſe of Tobacco, and the freightage of Engliſh ſhips, which bring it into our ports. VI. By diminiſhing the cauſe of the outgoing of ſpecie, to augment the balance of commerce in favour of this nation. Theſe are the principal advantages which France would have reaſon to have expected from the eſtabliſhment of this company, if it had been effected." *Eſſai ſur les Interêts du Commerce Maritime, par M.* du Haye. 1754.

The probability of ſucceeding in ſuch a ſcheme will appear from the foregoing accounts of Tobacco in Louiſiana, pag. 192, 193, 202, 212, &c. They only want hands to make any quantities of Tobacco in Louiſiana. The conſequences of that will appear from the following account.

An Account of the Quantity of Tobacco *imported into* Britain, *and exported from it, in the four Years of Peace, after the late Tobacco-Law took place, according to the Cuſtom-Houſe Acccunts.*

		Imported Hhds.	Exported Hhds.
England,	1752	55,997	48,922
	1753	70,925	57,353
	1754	59,744	50,476
	1755	71,881	54,384
		258,547	211,135
Scotland,	1752	22,322	21,642
	1753	26,210	24,728
	1754	22,334	21,764
	1755	20,698	19,711
		91,564	87,845
Total		350,111	298,980
Average		87,528	74,745
Imported yearly		hhds	87,528
Exported			74,745
Home conſumption			12,783
To 87,528 hogſheads, at 10l. per hogſhead,			£875,280
To duty on 12,783 hogſheads at 20l.			255,660
Annual income from Tobacco			1,130,940

The number of ſeamen employed in the Tobacco trade is computed at 4500;—in the Sugar trade 3600;—and in the Fiſhery of Newfoundland 4000, from Britain.

THE HISTORY OF LOUISIANA.

BOOK III.

The Natural Hiſtory of LOUISIANA.

CHAP. I.

Of Corn and Pulſe.

HAVING, in the former part of this work, given an account of the nature of the ſoil of Louiſiana, and obſerved that ſome places were proper for one kind of plants, and ſome for another; and that almoſt the whole country was capable of producing, and bringing to the utmoſt maturity, all kinds of grain, I ſhall now preſent the induſtrious planter with an account of the trees and plants which may be cultivated to advantage in thoſe lands with which he is now made acquainted.

During my abode in that country, where I myſelf have a grant of lands, and where I lived ſixteen years, I have had leiſure to ſtudy this ſubject, and have made ſuch progreſs in it, that I have ſent to the Weſt-India Company

in France no leſs than three hundred medicinal plants, found in their poſſeſſions, and worthy of the attention of the public. The reader may depend upon my being faithful and exact; he muſt not however here expect a deſcription of every thing that Louiſiana produces of the vegetable kind. Its prodigious fertility makes it impracticable for me to undertake ſo extenſive a work. I ſhall chiefly deſcribe thoſe plants and fruits that are moſt uſeful to the inhabitants, either in regard to their own ſubſiſtence or preſervation, or in regard to their foreign commerce; and I ſhall add the manner of cultivating and managing the plants that are of greateſt advantage to the colony.

Louiſiana produces ſeveral kinds of Maiz, namely Flour-maiz, which is white, with a flat and ſhrivelled ſurface, and is the ſofteſt of all the kinds; Homony corn, which is round, hard, and ſhining; of this there are four ſorts, the white, the yellow, the red, and the blue; the Maiz of theſe two laſt colours is more common in the high lands than in the Lower Louiſiana. We have beſides ſmall corn, or ſmall Maiz, ſo called becauſe it is ſmaller than the other kinds. New ſettlers ſow this corn upon their firſt arrival, in order to have whereon to ſubſiſt as ſoon as poſſible; for it riſes very faſt, and ripens in ſo ſhort a time, that from the ſame field they may have two crops of it in one year. Beſides this, it has the advantage of being more agreeable to the taſte than the large kind.

Maiz, which in France is called Turkey Corn, (and in England Indian Corn) is the natural product of this country; for upon our arrival we found it cultivated by the natives. It grows upon a ſtalk ſix, ſeven, and eight feet high; the ear is large, and about two inches diameter, containing ſometimes ſeven hundred grains and upwards; and each ſtalk bears ſometimes ſix or ſeven ears, according to the goodneſs of the ground. The black and light ſoil is that which agrees beſt with it; but ſtrong ground is not ſo favourable to it.

This corn, it is well known, is very wholeſome both for man and other animals, eſpecially for poultry. The natives, that they may have change of diſhes, dreſs it in various ways. The beſt is to make it into what is called Parched Meal, (Farine Froide.) As there is nobody who does not eat of this with pleaſure, even though not very hungry, I will give the manner of preparing it, that our provinces of France, which reap this grain, may draw the ſame advantage from it.

The corn is firſt parboiled in water; then drained and well dried. When it is perfectly dry, it is then roaſted in a plate made for that purpoſe, aſhes being mixed with it to hinder it from burning; and they keep continually ſtirring it, that it may take only the red colour which they want. When it has taken that colour, they remove the aſhes, rub it well, and then put it in a mortar with the aſhes of dried ſtalks of kidney beans, and a little water; they then beat it gently, which quickly breaks the huſk, and turns the whole into meal. This meal, after being pounded, is dried in the ſun, and after this laſt operation it may be carried any where, and will keep ſix months, if care be taken from time to time to expoſe it to the ſun. When they want to eat of it, they mix in a veſſel two thirds water with one third meal, and in a few minutes the mixture ſwells greatly in bulk, and is fit to eat. It is a very nouriſhing food, and is an excellent proviſion for travellers, and thoſe who go to any diſtance to trade.

This parched meal, mixed with milk and a little ſugar, may be ſerved up at the beſt tables. When mixed with milk-chocolate it makes a very laſting nouriſhment. From Maiz they make a ſtrong and agreeable beer; and they likewiſe diſtil brandy from it.

Wheat, rye, barley, and oats grow extremely well in Louiſiana; but I muſt add one precaution in regard to wheat; when it is ſown by itſelf, as in France, it grows at firſt wonderfully; but when it is in flower, a great

number of drops of red water may be obſerved at the bottom of the ſtalk within ſix inches of the ground, which are collected there during the night, and diſappear at ſun-riſing. This water is of ſuch an acrid nature, that in a ſhort time it conſumes the ſtalk, and the ear falls before the grain is formed. To prevent this misfortune, which is owing to the too great richneſs of the ſoil, the method I have taken, and which has ſucceeded extremely well, is to mix with the wheat you intend to ſow, ſome rye and dry mould, in ſuch a proportion that the mould ſhall be equal to the rye and wheat together. This method I remember to have ſeen practiſed in France; and when I aſked the reaſon of it, the farmer told me that as the land was new, and had lately been a wood, it contained an acid that was prejudicial to the wheat; and that as the rye abſorbed that acid without being hurt, it thereby preſerved the other grain. I have ſeen barley and oats in that country three feet high.

The rice which is cultivated in that country was brought from Carolina. It ſucceeds ſurprizingly well, and experience has there proved, contrary to the common notion, that it does not want to have its foot always in the water. It has been ſown in the flat country without being flooded, and the grain that was reaped was full grown, and of a very delicate taſte. The fine reliſh need not ſurpriſe us; for it is ſo with all plants and fruits that grow without being watered, and at a diſtance from watery places. Two crops may be reaped from the ſame plant; but the ſecond is poor if it be not flooded. I know not whether they have attempted, ſince I left Louiſiana, to ſow it upon the ſides of hills.

The firſt ſettlers found in the country French-beans of various colours, particularly red and black, and they have been called beans of forty days, becauſe they require no longer time to grow and to be fit to eat green. The Apalachean beans are ſo called becauſe we received them from a nation

a nation of the natives of that name. They probably had them from the Engliſh of Carolina, whither they had been brought from Guinea. Their ſtalks ſpread upon the ground to the length of four or five feet. They are like the other beans, but much ſmaller, and of a brown colour, having a black ring round the eye, by which they are joined to the ſhell. Theſe beans boil tender, and have a tolerable reliſh, but they are ſweetiſh, and ſomewhat inſipid.

The potatoes are roots more commonly long than thick; their form is various, and their fine ſkin is like that of the Topinambous (Iriſh potatoes.) In their ſubſtance and taſte they very much reſemble ſweet cheſnuts. They are cultivated in the following manner; the earth is raiſed in little hills or high furrows about a foot and a half broad, that by draining the moiſture, the roots may have a better reliſh. The ſmall potatoes being cut in little pieces with an eye in each, four or five of thoſe pieces are planted on the head of the hills. In a ſhort time they puſh out ſhoots, and theſe ſhoots being cut off about the middle of Auguſt within ſeven or eight inches of the ground, are planted double, croſs-ways, in the crown of other hills. The roots of theſe laſt are the moſt eſteemed, not only on account of their fine reliſh, but becauſe they are eaſier kept during the winter. In order to preſerve them during that ſeaſon, they dry them in the ſun as ſoon as they are dug up, and then lay them up in a cloſe and dry place, covering them firſt with aſhes, over which they lay dry mould. They boil them, or bake them, or roaſt them on hot coals like cheſnuts; but they have the fineſt reliſh when baked or roaſted. They are eat dry, or cut into ſmall ſlices in milk without ſugar, for they are ſweet of themſelves. Good ſweetmeats are alſo made of them, and ſome Frenchmen have drawn brandy from them.

The Cuſhaws are a kind of pompion. There are two ſorts of them, the one round, and the other in the ſhape

of a hunting horn. Theſe laſt are the beſt, being of a more firm ſubſtance, which makes them keep much better than the others; their ſweetneſs is not ſo inſipid, and they have fewer ſeeds. They make ſweetmeats of theſe laſt, and uſe both kinds in ſoup; they make fritters of them, fry them, bake them, and roaſt them on the coals, and in all ways of cooking they are good and palatable.

All kinds of melons grow admirably well in Louiſiana. Thoſe of Spain, of France, of England, which laſt are called white melons, are there infinitely finer than in the countries from whence they have their name; but the beſt of all are the water melons. As they are hardly known in France, except in Provence, where a few of the ſmall kind grow, I fancy a deſcription of them will not be diſagreeable to the reader.

The ſtalk of this melon ſpreads like ours upon the ground, and extends to the length of ten feet. It is ſo tender, that when it is any way bruiſed by treading upon it, the fruit dies; and if it is rubbed in the leaſt, it grows warm. The leaves are very much indented, as broad as the hand when they are ſpread out, and are ſomewhat of a ſea-green colour. The fruit is either round like a pompion, or long. There are ſome good melons of this laſt kind, but the firſt ſort are moſt eſteemed, and deſervedly ſo. The weight of the largeſt rarely exceeds thirty pounds, but that of the ſmalleſt is always above ten pounds. Their rind is of a pale green colour, interſperſed with large white ſpots. The ſubſtance that adheres to the rind is white, crude, and of a diſagreeable tartneſs, and is therefore never eaten. The ſpace within that is filled with a light and ſparkling ſubſtance, that may be called for its properties a roſe-coloured ſnow. It melts in the mouth as if it were actually ſnow, and leaves a reliſh like that of the water prepared for ſick people from gooſeberry jelly. This fruit cannot fail therefore of being very refreſhing, and is ſo wholeſome, that perſons

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in all kinds of diſtempers may ſatisfy their appetite with it, without any apprehenſion of being the worſe for it. The water-melons of Africa are not near ſo reliſhing as thoſe of Louiſiana.

The ſeeds of water-melons are placed like thoſe of the French melons. Their ſhape is oval and flat, being as thick at the ends as towards the middle; their length is about ſix lines, and their breadth four. Some are black and others red; but the black are the beſt, and it is thoſe you ought to chooſe for ſowing, if you would wiſh to have good fruit; which you cannot fail of, if they are not planted in ſtrong ground, where they would degenerate and become red.

All kinds of greens and roots which have been brought from Europe into that colony ſucceed better there than in France, provided they be planted in a ſoil ſuited to them; for it is certainly abſurd to think that onions and other bulbous plants ſhould thrive there in a ſoft and watery ſoil, when every where elſe they require a light and dry earth.

CHAP. II.

Of the Fruit Trees of Louiſiana.

I Shall now proceed to give an account of the fruit trees of this colony, and ſhall begin with the Vine, which is ſo common in Louiſiana, that whatever way you walk from the ſea coaſt for five hundred leagues northwards, you cannot proceed an hundred ſteps without meeting with one; but unleſs the vine-ſhoots ſhould happen to grow in an expoſed place, it cannot be expected that their fruit ſhould ever come to perfect maturity. The trees to which they twine are ſo high, and ſo thick of leaves, and the intervals of underwood are ſo filled with reeds, that the ſun cannot warm the earth, or ripen the fruit of this ſhrub. I will not undertake to deſcribe all

the kinds of grapes which this country produces; it is even impoſſible to know them all; I ſhall only ſpeak of three or four.

The firſt ſort that I ſhall mention does not perhaps deſerve the name of a grape, although its wood and its leaf greatly reſemble the vine. This ſhrub bears no bunches, and you hardly ever ſee upon it above two grapes together. The grape in ſubſtance and colour is very like a violet damaſk plum, and its ſtone, which is always ſingle, greatly reſembles a nut. Though not very reliſhing, it has not however that diſagreeable ſharpneſs of the grape that grows in the neighbourhood of New Orleans.

On the edge of the ſavannahs or meadows we meet with a grape, the ſhoots of which reſemble thoſe of the Burgundy grape. They make from this a tolerable good wine, if they take care to expoſe it to the ſun in ſummer, and to the cold in winter. I have made this experiment myſelf, and muſt ſay that I never could turn it into vinegar.

There is another kind of grape which I make no difficulty of claſſing with the grapes of Corinth, commonly called currants. It reſembles them in the wood, the leaf, the tree, the ſize, and the ſweetneſs. Its tartneſs is owing to its being prevented from ripening by the thick ſhade of the large trees to which it twines. If it were planted and cultivated in an open field, I make not the leaſt doubt but it would equal the grape of Corinth, with which I claſs it.

Muſcadine grapes, of an amber colour, of a very good kind, and very ſweet, have been found upon declivities of a good expoſure, even ſo far north as the latitude of 31 degrees. There is the greateſt probability that they might make excellent wine of theſe, as it cannot be doubted but the grapes might be brought to great perfection in this country, ſince in the moiſt ſoil of New Orleans, the cuttings of the grape which ſome of the inhabitants of

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that city brought from France, have ſucceeded extremely well, and afforded good wine.

As a proof of the fertility of Louiſiana, I cannot forbear mentioning the following fact; an inhabitant of New Orleans having planted in his garden a few twigs of this Muſcadine vine, with a view of making an arbour of them, one of his ſons, with another negro boy, entered the garden in the month of June, when the grapes are ripe, and broke off all the bunches they could find. The father, after ſeverely chiding the two boys, pruned the twigs that had been broken and bruiſed; and as ſeveral months of ſummer ſtill remained, the vine puſhed out new ſhoots, and new bunches, which ripened and were as good as the former.

The Perſimmon, which the French of the colony call Placminier, very much reſembles our medlar-tree in its leaf and wood: its flower, which is about an inch and a half broad, is white, and is compoſed of five petals; its fruit is about the ſize of a large hen's egg; it is ſhaped like our medlar, but its ſubſtance is ſweeter and more delicate. This fruit is aſtringent; when it is quite ripe the natives make bread of it, which they keep from year to year; and the bread has this remarkable property that it will ſtop the moſt violent looſeneſs or dyſentery; therefore it ought to be uſed with caution, and only after phyſic. The natives, in order to make this bread, ſqueeze the fruit over fine ſieves to ſeparate the pulp from the ſkin and the kernels. Of this pulp, which is like paſte or thick pap, they make cakes about a foot and a half long, a foot broad, and a finger's breadth in thickneſs: theſe they dry in an oven, upon gridirons, or elſe in the ſun; which laſt method of drying gives a greater reliſh to the bread. This is one of their articles of traffic with the French.

Their plum-trees are of two ſorts: the beſt is that which bears violet-coloured plums, quite like ours, which

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are not diſagreeable, and which certainly would be good if they did not grow in the middle of woods. The other kind bears plums of the colour of an unripe cherry, and theſe are ſo tart that no body can eat them; but I am of opinion they might be preſerved like gooſeberries; eſpecially if pains were taken to cultivate them in open grounds. The ſmall cherries, called the Indian cherry, are frequent in this country. Their wood is very beautiful, and their leaves differ in nothing from thoſe of the cherry tree.

The Papaws are only to be found far up in Higher Louiſiana. Theſe trees, it would ſeem, do not love heat; they do not grow ſo tall as the plum-trees; their wood is very hard and flexible; for the lower branches are ſometimes ſo loaded with fruit that they hang perpendicularly downwards; and if you unload them of their fruit in the evening, you will find them next morning in their natural erect poſition. The fruit reſembles a middle-ſized cucumber; the pulp is very agreeable and very wholeſome; but the rind, which is eaſily ſtripped off, leaves on the fingers ſo ſharp an acid, that if you touch your eye with them before you waſh them, it will be immediately inflamed, and itch moſt inſupportably for twenty-four hours after.

The natives had doubtleſs got the peach-trees and fig-trees from the Engliſh colony of Carolina, before the French eſtabliſhed themſelves in Louiſiana. The peaches are of the kind which we call Alberges; are of the ſize of the fiſt, adhere to the ſtone, and contain ſo much water that they make a kind of wine of it. The figs are either blue or white; are large and well enough taſted. Our coloniſts plant the peach ſtones about the end of February, and ſuffer the trees to grow expoſed to all weathers. In the third year they will gather from one tree at leaſt two hundred peaches, and double that number for ſix or ſeven years more, when the tree dies irrecoverably,

verably. As new trees are ſo eaſily produced, the loſs of the old ones is not in the leaſt regretted.

The orange-trees and citron-trees that were brought from Cape François have ſucceeded extremely well; however I have ſeen ſo ſevere a winter that thoſe kinds of trees were entirely frozen to the very trunk. In that caſe they cut the trees down to the ground, and the following ſummer they produced ſhoots that were better than the former. If theſe trees have ſucceeded in the flat and moiſt ſoil of New Orleans, what may we not expect when they are planted in better ſoil, and upon declivities of a good expoſure? The oranges and citrons are as good as thoſe of other countries; but the rind of the orange in particular is very thick, which makes it the better for a ſweetmeat.

There is plenty of wild apples in Louiſiana, like thoſe in Europe; and the inhabitants have got many kind of fruit trees from France, ſuch as apples, pears, plums, cherries, &c. which in the low grounds run more into wood than fruit; the few I had at the Natches proved that high ground is much more ſuited to them than the low.

The blue Whortle berry is a ſhrub ſomewhat taller than our largeſt gooſeberry buſhes, which are left to grow as they pleaſe. Its berries are of the ſhape of a gooſeberry, grow ſingle, and are of a blue colour: they taſte like a ſweetiſh gooſeberry, and when infuſed in brandy it makes a good dram. They attribute ſeveral virtues to it, which, as I never experienced, I cannot anſwer for. It loves a poor gravelly ſoil.

Louiſiana produces no black mulberries: but from the ſea to the Arkanſas, which is an extent of navigation upon the river of two hundred leagues, we meet very frequently with three kinds of mulberries; one a bright red, another perfectly white, and a third white and ſweetiſh. The firſt of theſe kinds is very common, but the two laſt

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are more rare. Of the red mulberries they make excellent vinegar, which keeps a long time, provided they take care in the making of it to keep it in the ſhade in a veſſel well ſtopped, contrary to the practice in France. They make vinegar alſo of bramble berries, but this is not ſo good as the former. I do not doubt but the coloniſts at preſent apply themſelves ſeriouſly to the cultivation of mulberries, to feed ſilk-worms, eſpecially as the countries adjoining to France, and which ſupplied us with ſilk, have now made the exportation of it difficult.

The olive-trees in this colony are ſurpriſingly beautiful. The trunk is ſometimes a foot and an half diameter, and thirty feet high before it ſpreads out into branches. The Provençals ſettled in the colony affirm, that its olives would afford as good an oil as thoſe of their country. Some of the olives that were prepared to be eat green, were as good as thoſe of Provence. I have reaſon to think, that if they were planted on the coaſts, the olives would have a finer reliſh.

They have great numbers and a variety of kinds of walnut-trees in this country. There is a very large kind, the wood of which is almoſt as black as ebony, but very porous. The fruit, with the outer ſhell, is of the ſize of a large hen's egg: the ſhell has no cleft, is very rough, and ſo hard as to require a hammer to break it. Though the fruit be very reliſhing, yet it is covered with ſuch a thick film, that few can beſtow the pains of ſeparating the one from the other. The natives make bread of it, by throwing the fruit into water, and rubbing it till the film and oil be ſeparated from it. If thoſe trees were engrafted with the French walnut, their fruit would probably be improved.

Other walnut-trees have a very white and flexible wood. Of this wood the natives make their crooked ſpades for hoeing their fields. The nut is ſmaller than ours,

ours, and the ſhell more tender; but the fruit is ſo bitter that none but perroquets can put up with it.

The Hicori bears a very ſmall kind of nut, which at firſt ſight one would take for filberts, as they have the ſame ſhape and colour, and their ſhell is as tender, but within they are formed like walnuts. They have ſuch an excellent reliſh, that the French make fried cakes of them as good as thoſe of almonds.

Louiſiana produces but a few filberts, as the filbert requires a poor gravelly ſoil, which is not to be met with in this province, except in the neighbourhood of the ſea, eſpecially near the river Mobile.

The large cheſnuts are not to be met with but at the diſtance of one hundred leagues from the ſea, and far from rivers in the heart of the woods, between the country of the Chactaws and that of the Chicaſaws. The common cheſnuts ſucceed beſt upon high declivities, and their fruit is like the cheſnuts that grow in our woods. There is another kind of cheſnuts, which are called the Acorn cheſnuts, as they are ſhaped like an acorn, and grow in ſuch a cup. But they have the colour and taſte of a cheſnut; and I have often thought that thoſe were the acorns which the firſt of men were ſaid to have lived upon.

The Sweet-Gum, or Liquid-Ambar (Copalm) is not only extremely common, but it affords a balm, the virtues of which are infinite. Its bark is black and hard, and its wood ſo tender and ſupple, that when the tree is felled, you may draw from the middle of it rods of five or ſix feet in length. It cannot be employed in building or furniture, as it warps continually; nor is it fit for burning on account of its ſtrong ſmell; but a little of it in a fire yields an agreeable perfume. Its leaf is indented with five points like a ſtar.

I ſhall not undertake to particularize all the virtues of this Sweet-Gum or Liquid-Ambar, not having learned all

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of them from the natives of the country, who would be no leſs ſurpriſed to find that we uſed it only as a varniſh, than they were to ſee our ſurgeons bleed their patients. This balm, according to them, is an excellent febrifuge; they take ten or a dozen drops of it in gruel faſting, and before their meals; and if they ſhould take a little more, they have no reaſon to apprehend any danger. The phyſicians among the natives purge their patients before they give it them. It cures wounds in two days without any bad conſequences: it is equally ſovereign for all kinds of ulcers, after having applied to them for ſome days a plaſter of bruiſed ground-ivy. It cures conſumptions, opens obſtructions; it affords relief in the colic and all internal diſeaſes; it comforts the heart; in ſhort, it contains ſo many virtues, that they are every day diſcovering ſome new property that it has.

CHAP. III.

Of Foreſt Trees.

HAVING deſcribed the moſt remarkable of their fruit trees, I ſhall now proceed to give an account of their foreſt trees. White and red cedars are very common upon the coaſt. The incorruptibility of the wood, and many other excellent properties which are well known, induced the firſt French ſettlers to build their houſes of it; which were but very low.

Next to the cedar the cypreſs-tree is the moſt valuable wood. Some reckon it incorruptible; and if it be not, it is at leaſt a great many years in rotting. The tree that was found twenty feet deep in the earth near New Orleans was a cypreſs, and was uncorrupted. Now if the lands of Lower Louiſiana are augmented two leagues every century, this tree muſt have been buried at leaſt twelve centuries. The cypreſs grows very ſtraight and tall, with a pro-

a proportionable thickneſs. They commonly make their pettyaugres of a ſingle trunk of this tree, which will carry three or four thouſand weight, and ſometimes more. Of one of thoſe trees a carpenter offered to make two pettyaugres, one of which carried ſixteen ton, and the other fourteen. There is a cypreſs at Baton Rouge, a French ſettlement twenty-ſix leagues above New Orleans, which meaſures twelve yards round, and is of a prodigious height. The cypreſs has few branches, and its leaf is long and narrow. The trunk cloſe by the ground ſometimes ſends off two or three ſtems, which enter the earth obliquely, and ſerve for buttreſſes to the tree. Its wood is of a beautiful colour, ſomewhat reddiſh; it is ſoft, light, and ſmooth; its grain is ſtraight, and its pores very cloſe. It is eaſily ſplit by wedges, and though uſed green it never warps. It renews itſelf in a very extraordinary manner: a ſhort time after it is cut down, a ſhoot is obſerved to grow from one of its roots exactly in the form of a ſugar-loaf, and this ſometimes riſes ten feet high before any leaf appears: the branches at length ariſe from the head of this conical ſhoot *.

The cypreſſes were formerly very common in Louiſiana; but they have waſted them ſo imprudently, that they are now ſomewhat rare. They felled them for the ſake of their bark, with which they covered their houſes, and they ſawed the wood into planks which they exported at different places. The price of the wood now is three times as much as it was formerly.

The Pine-tree, which loves a barren ſoil, is to be found in great abundance on the ſea coaſts, where it grows very high and very beautiful. The iſlands upon the coaſt, which are formed wholly of ſhining ſand, bear no other trees, and I am perſuaded that as fine maſts might be made of them as of the firs of Sweden.

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* This is a miſtake, according to Charlevoix.

All the ſouth parts of Louiſiana abound with the Wild Laurel, which grows in the woods without any cultivation: the ſame may be ſaid of the ſtone laurel; but if a perſon is not upon his guard he may take for the laurel a tree natural to the country, which would communicate its bad ſmell to every thing it is applied to. Among the laurels the preference ought to be given to the tulip-laurel (magnolia) which is not known in Europe. This tree is of the height and bulk of one of our common walnut-trees. Its head is naturally very round, and ſo thick of leaves that neither the ſun nor rain can penetrate it. Its leaves are full four inches long, near three inches broad, and very thick, of a beautiful ſea-green on the upperſide, and reſembling white velvet on the under-ſide: its bark is ſmooth and of a grey colour; its wood is white, ſoft and flexible, and the grain interwoven. It owes its name to the form of its great white flowers, which are at leaſt two inches broad. Theſe appearing in the ſpring amidſt the gloſſy verdure of the leaves, have a moſt beautiful effect. As the top is naturally round, and the leaves are ever-green, avenues of this tree would doubtleſs be worthy of a royal garden. After it has ſhed its leaves, its fruit appears in the form of a pine apple, and upon the firſt approach of the cold its grain turns into a lively red. Its kernel is very bitter, and it is ſaid to be a ſpecific againſt fevers.

The ſaſſafras, the name of which is familiar to botaniſts on account of its medicinal qualities, is a large and tall tree. Its bark is thick, and cracked here and there; its wood is ſomewhat of the colour of cinnamon, and has an agreeable ſmell. It will not burn in the fire without the mixture of other wood, and even in the fire, if it ſhould be ſeparated from the flaming wood, it is immediately extinguiſhed as if it were dipped in water.

The maple grows upon declivities in cold climates, and is much more plentiful in the northern than ſouthern parts

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of the colony. By boring it they draw from it a ſweet ſyrup which I have drunk of, and which they alledge is an excellent ſtomachic.

The myrtle wax-tree is one of the greateſt bleſſings with which nature has enriched Louiſiana, as in this country the bees lodge their honey in the earth to ſave it from the ravages of the bears, who are very fond of it, and do not value their ſtings. One would be apt to take it at firſt ſight, both from its bark and its height, for that kind of laurel uſed in the kitchens. It riſes in ſeveral ſtems from the root; its leaf is like that of the laurel, but not ſo thick nor of ſuch a lively green. It bears its fruit in bunches like a noſegay, riſing from the ſame place in various ſtalks about two inches long: at the end of each of thoſe ſtalks is a little pea, containing a kernel in a nut, which laſt is wholly covered with wax. The fruit, which is very plentiful, is eaſily gathered, as the ſhrub is very flexible. The tree thrives as well in the ſhade of other trees as in the open air; in watry places and cold countries, as well as in dry grounds and hot climates; for I have been told that ſome of them have been found in Canada, a country as cold as Denmark.

This tree yields two kinds of wax, one a whitiſh yellow, and the other green. It was a long time before they learned to ſeparate them, and they prepared the wax at firſt in the following manner. They threw the grains and the ſtalks into a large kettle of boiling water, and when the wax was detached from them, they ſcummed off the grains. When the water cooled the wax floated in a cake at the top, and being cut ſmall, bleached in a ſhorter time than bees wax. They now prepare it in this manner; they throw boiling water upon the ſtalks and grains till they are entirely floated, and when they have ſtood thus a few minutes, they pour off the water, which carries the fineſt wax with it. This wax when cold is of a pale yellow colour, and may be bleached in ſix or ſeven

days. Having ſeparated the beſt wax, they pour the water again upon the ſtalks and grains, and boil all together till they think they have ſeparated all the wax. Both kinds are exported to our ſugar iſlands, where the firſt is ſold for a hundred ſols the pound, and the ſecond for forty.

This wax is ſo brittle and dry that if it falls it breaks into ſeveral pieces; on this account however it laſts longer than that of France, and is preferred to it in our ſugar iſlands, where the latter is ſoftened by the great heats, and conſumes like tallow. I would adviſe thoſe who prepare this wax to ſeparate the grain from the ſhort ſtalk before they boil it, as the ſtalk is greener than the grain, and ſeems to part eaſily with its colour. The water which ſerves to melt and ſeparate the wax is far from being uſeleſs. The fruit communicates to it ſuch an aſtringent virtue, as to harden the tallow that is melted in it to ſuch a degree, that the candles made of that tallow are as firm as the wax candles of France. This aſtringent quality likewiſe renders it an admirable ſpecific againſt a dyſentery or looſeneſs. From what I have ſaid of the myrtle wax-tree, it may well be believed that the French of Louiſiana cultivate it carefully, and make plantations of it.

The cotton-tree (a poplar) is a large tree which no wiſe deſerves the name it bears, unleſs for ſome beards that it throws out. Its fruit which contains the grain is about the ſize of a walnut, and of no uſe; its wood is yellow, ſmooth, ſomewhat hard, of a fine grain, and very proper for cabinet work. The bark of its root is a ſovereign remedy for cuts, and ſo red that it may even ſerve to dye that colour.

The acacia (locuſt) is the ſame in Louiſiana as in France, much more common, and leſs ſtreight. The natives call it by a name that ſignifies hard wood, and they make their bows of it becauſe it is very ſtiff. They look

upon it as an incorruptible wood, which induced the French ſettlers to build their houſes of it. The poſts fixed in the earth muſt be entirely ſtripped of their bark, for notwithſtanding their hardneſs, if the leaſt bark be left upon them they will take root.

The holm-oak grows to a ſurpriſing bulk and height in this country; I have ſeen of them a foot and a half diameter, and about 30 feet from the ground to the loweſt branches.

The mangrove is very common all over America. It grows in Louiſiana near the ſea, even to the bounds of low water mark. It is more prejudicial than uſeful, inaſmuch as it occupies a great deal of good land, prevents ſailors from landing, and affords ſhelter to the fiſh from the fiſhermen.

Oak-trees abound in Louiſiana; there are ſome red, ſome white, and ſome ever-green. A ſhip-builder of St. Maloes aſſured me that the red is as good as the ever-green upon which we ſet ſo high a value in France. The ever-green oak is moſt common toward the ſea-coaſts, and near the banks of rivers, conſequently may be tranſported with great eaſe, and become a great reſource for the navy of France *. I forgot to mention a fourth kind of oak, namely the black oak, ſo called from the colour of its bark. Its wood is very hard, and of a deep red. It grows upon the declivities of hills and in the ſavannahs. Happening after a ſhower of rain to examine one of theſe which I cut down, I obſerved ſome water to come from it as red as blood, which made me think that it might be uſed for dying.

* Eleven leagues above the mouth of the Miſſiſippi, on the weſt ſide, there is great plenty of ever-green oaks, the wood of which is very proper for the timbers of ſhips, as it does not rot in water. *Dumont*, 1. & 50.

Accordingly the beſt ſhips built in America are well known to be thoſe that have their timbers of ever-green oak, and their plank of cedar, of both which there are great plenty on all the coaſts of Louiſiana.

The aſh is very common in this country; but more and better upon the ſea-coaſts than in the inland parts. As it is eaſy to be had, and is harder than the elm, the wheel-wrights make uſe of it for wheels, which it is needleſs to ring with iron in a country where there are neither ſtones nor gravel.

The elm, beech, lime, and hornbeam, are exactly the ſame in Louiſiana as in France; the laſt of theſe trees is very common here. The bark of the lime-tree of this country is equally proper for the making of ropes, as the bark of the common lime; but its leaf is twice as large, and ſhaped like an oblong trefoil leaf with the point cut off.

The white woods are the aſpen, willow, alder and liart. This laſt grows very large, its wood is white and light, and its fibres are interwoven; it is very flexible and is eaſily cut, on which account they make their large pettyaugres of it.

CHAP. IV.

Of Shrubs and Excreſcences.

THE ayac, or ſtinking-wood, is uſually a ſmall tree, ſeldom exceeding the thickneſs of a man's leg; its leaf is of a yellowiſh green, gloſſy, and of an oval form, being about three inches in length. The wood is yellow, and yields a water of the ſame colour, when it is cut in the ſap: but both the wood and the water that comes from it have a diſagreeable ſmell. The natives uſe the wood for dying; they cut it into ſmall bits, pound them, and then boil them in water. Having ſtrained this water, they dip the feathers and hair into it, which it is their cuſtom to dye firſt yellow, and then red. When they intend to uſe it for the yellow dye, they take care to cut the wood in the

the winter, but if they want only a ſlight colour they never mind the ſeaſon of cutting it.

The machonchi, or vinegar-tree, is a ſhrub with leaves, ſomewhat reſembling thoſe of the aſh; but the foot-ſtalk from which the leaves hang is much longer. When the leaves are dry the natives mix them with their tobacco to weaken it a little, for they do not love ſtrong tobacco for ſmoaking. The wood is of an aſtringent nature, and if put into vinegar makes it ſtronger.

The caſſine, or yapon, is a ſhrub which never grows higher than 15 feet; its bark is very ſmooth, and the wood flexible. Its leaf is very much indented, and when uſed as tea is reckoned good for the ſtomach. The natives make an intoxicating liquor from it, by boiling it in water till great part of the liquor evaporate.

The toothach-tree does not grow higher than 10 or 12 feet. The trunk, which is not very large, is wholly covered over with ſhort thick prickles, which are eaſily rubbed off. The pith of this ſhrub is almoſt as large as that of the elder, and the form of the leaf is almoſt the ſame in both. It has two barks, the outer almoſt black, and the inner white, with ſomewhat of a pale reddiſh hue. This inner bark has the property of curing the tooth-ach. The patient rolls it up to the ſize of a bean, puts it upon the aching tooth, and chews it till the pain ceaſes. Sailors and other ſuch people powder it, and uſe it as pepper.

The paſſion-thorn does not riſe above the height of a ſhrub; but its trunk is rather thick for its height. This ſhrub is in great eſteem among the Natches; but I never could learn for what reaſon. Its leaf reſembles that of the black thorn; and its wood while it is green is not very hard. Its prickles are at leaſt two inches long, and are very hard and piercing; within half an inch of their root two other ſmall prickles grow out from them ſo as to form

a croſs. The whole trunk is covered with theſe prickles, ſo that you muſt be very wary how you approach it, or cut it.

The elder-tree is exactly like that of France, only that its leaf is a little more indented. The juice of its leaves mixed with hog's lard is a ſpecific againſt the hæmorrhoids.

The palmetto has its leaves in the form of an open fan, ſcolloped at the end of each of its folds. Its bark is more rough and knotty than that of the palm-tree. Although it is leſs than that of the Eaſt Indies, it may however ſerve to the ſame purpoſes. Its wood is not harder than that of a cabbage, and its trunk is ſo ſoft that the leaſt wind overturns it, ſo that I never ſaw any but what were lying on the ground. It is very common in Lower Louiſiana, where there are no wild oxen; for thoſe animals who love it dearly, and are greatly fattened by it, devour it wherever they can find it. The Spaniſh women make hats of its leaves that do not weigh an ounce, riding-hoods, and other curious works.

The birch-tree is the ſame with that of France. In the north they make canoes of its bark large enough to hold eight perſons. When the ſap riſes they ſtrip off the bark from the tree in one piece with wedges, after which they ſew up the two ends of it to ſerve for ſtem and ſtern, and anoint the whole with gum.

I make not the leaſt doubt but that there are great numbers of other trees in the foreſts of Louiſiana that deſerve to be particularly deſcribed; but I know of none, nor have I heard of any, but what I have already ſpoken of. For our travellers, from whom alone we can get any intelligence of thoſe things, are more intent upon diſcovering game which they ſtand in need of for their ſubſiſtence, than in obſerving the productions of nature in the vegetable kingdom. To what I have ſaid of trees, I ſhall only add,

add, from my own knowledge, an account of two ſingular excreſcences.

The firſt is a kind of agaric or muſhroom, which grows from the root of the walnut-tree, eſpecially when it is felled. The natives, who are very careful in the choice of their food, gather it with great attention, boil it in water, and eat it with their gruel. I had the curioſity to taſte of it, and found it very delicate, but rather inſipid, which might eaſily be corrected with a little ſeaſoning.

The other excreſcence is commonly found upon trees near the banks of rivers and lakes. It is called Spaniſh beard, which name was given it by the natives, who, when the Spaniards firſt appeared in their country, about 240 years ago, were greatly ſurpriſed at their muſtachios and beards. This excreſcence appears like a bunch of hair hanging from the large branches of trees, and might at firſt be eaſily miſtaken for an old perruque, eſpecially when it is dancing with the wind. As the firſt ſettlers of Louiſiana uſed only mud walls for their houſes, they commonly mixed it with the mud for ſtrengthening the building. When gathered it is of a grey colour, but when it is dry its bark falls off, and diſcovers black filaments as long and as ſtrong as the hairs of a horſe's tail. I dreſſed ſome of it for ſtuffing a mattraſs, by firſt laying it up in a heap to make it part with the bark, and afterwards beating it to take off ſome ſmall branches that reſemble ſo many little hooks. It is affirmed by ſome to be incorruptible: I myſelf have ſeen of it under old rotten trees that was perfectly freſh and ſtrong.

CHAP. V.

Of Creeping Plants.

THE great fertility of Louiſiana renders the creeping plants extremely common, which, excluſive of the ivy, are all different from thoſe which we have in France. I ſhall only mention the moſt remarkable.

The bearded-creeper is ſo called from having its whole ſtalk covered with a beard about an inch long, hooked at the end, and ſomewhat thicker than a horſe's hair. There is no tree which it loves to cling to ſo much as to the ſweet gum; and ſo great is its ſympathy, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, for that tree, that if it grow between it and any other tree, it turns ſolely towards the ſweet gum, although it ſhould be at the greateſt diſtance from it. This is likewiſe the tree upon which it thrives beſt. It has the ſame virtue with its balm of being a febrifuge, and this I affirm after a great number of proofs. The phyſicians among the natives uſe this ſimple in the following manner. They take a piece of it, above the length of the finger, which they ſplit into as many threads as poſſible; theſe they boil in a quart of water, till one third of the decoction evaporate, and the remainder is ſtrained clear. They then purge the patient, and the next day, upon the approach of the fit, they give a third of the decoction to drink. If the patient be not cured with the firſt doſe, he is again purged and drinks another third, which ſeldom fails of having the wiſhed-for effect. This medicine is indeed very bitter, but it ſtrengthens the ſtomach; a ſingular advantage it has over the Jeſuits bark, which is accuſed of having a contrary effect.

There is another creeper very like ſalſaparilla, only that it bears its leaves by threes. It bears a fruit ſmooth

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on one ſide like a filbert, and on the other as rough as the little ſhells which ſerve for money on the Guinea coaſt. I ſhall not ſpeak of its properties; they are but too well known by the women of Louiſiana, eſpecially the girls, who very often have recourſe to it.

Another creeper is called by the native phyſicians the remedy againſt poiſoned arrows. It is large and very beautiful; its leaves are pretty long, and the pods it bears are narrow, about an inch broad, and eight inches long.

The ſalſaparilla grows naturally in Louiſiana, and it is not inferior in its qualities to that of Mexico. It is ſo well known that it is needleſs to enlarge upon it.

The eſquine partly reſembles a creeper and partly a bramble. It is furniſhed with hard ſpikes like prickles, and its oblong leaves are like thoſe of the common creeper (liane;) its ſtalk is ſtraight, long, ſhining, and hard, and it runs up along the reeds: its root is ſpungy, and ſometimes as large as one's head, but more long than round. Beſides the ſudorific virtue which the eſquine poſſeſſes in common with the ſalſaparilla, it has the property of making the hair grow, and the women among the natives uſe it ſucceſsfully with this view. They cut the root into ſmall bits, boil them in water, and waſh their heads with the decoction. I have ſeen ſeveral of them whoſe hair came down below their knees, and one particularly whoſe hair came lower than the ankle bones.

Hops grow naturally in the gullies in the high lands.

Maiden-hair grows in Louiſiana more beautiful, at leaſt as good as that of Canada, which is in ſo great repute. It grows in gullies upon the ſides of hills, in places that are abſolutely impenetrable to the moſt ardent rays of the ſun. It ſeldom riſes above a foot, and it bears a thick

ſhaggy

ſhaggy head. The native phyſicians know more of its virtues than we do in France.

The canes or reeds which I have mentioned ſo often may be divided into two kinds. One kind grows in moiſt places to the height of eighteen feet, and the thickneſs of the wriſt. The natives makes matts, ſieves, ſmall boxes, and other works of it. Thoſe that grow in dry places are neither ſo high nor ſo thick, but are ſo hard, that before the arrival of the French, the natives uſed ſplits of thoſe canes to cut their victuals with. After a certain number of years, the large canes bear a great abundance of grain, which is ſomewhat like oats, but about three times as large. The natives carefully gather theſe grains and make bread or gruel of them. This flour ſwells as much as that of wheat. When the reeds have yielded the grain they die, and none appear for a long time after in the ſame place, eſpecially if fire has been ſet to the old ones.

The flat-root receives its name from the form of its root, which is thin, flat, pretty often indented, and ſometimes even pierced through: it is a line or ſometimes two lines in thickneſs, and its breadth is commonly a foot and a half. From this large root hang ſeveral other ſmall ſtraight roots, which draw the nouriſhment from the earth. This plant, which grows in meadows that are not very rich, ſends up from the ſame root ſeveral ſtraight ſtalks about eighteen inches high, which are as hard as wood, and on the top of the ſtalks it bears ſmall purpliſh flowers, in their figure greatly reſembling thoſe of heath; its ſeed is contained in a deep cup cloſed at the head, and in a manner crowned. Its leaves are about an inch broad, and about two long, without any indenting, of a dark green, inclining to a brown. It is ſo ſtrong a ſudorific, that the natives never uſe any other for promoting ſweating, although they are perfectly acquainted with ſaſſafras, ſalſaparilla, the eſquine and others.

The

The rattle-ſnake-herb has a bulbous root, like that of the tuberoſe, but twice as large. The leaves of both have the ſame ſhape and the ſame colour, and on the under ſide have ſome flame-coloured ſpots; but thoſe of the rattle-ſnake plant are twice as large as the others, end in a very firm point, and are armed with very hard prickles on both ſides. Its ſtalk grows to the height of about three feet, and from the head riſe five or ſix ſprigs in different directions, each of which bears a purple flower an inch broad, with five leaves in the form of a cup. After theſe leaves are ſhed there remains a head about the ſize of a ſmall nut, but ſhaped like the head of a poppy. This head is ſeparated into four diviſions, each of which contains four black ſeeds, equally thick throughout, and about the ſize of a large lentil. When the head is ripe, it will, when ſhaken, give the ſame ſound as the tail of a rattle-ſnake, which ſeems to indicate the property of the plant; for it is the ſpecific remedy againſt the bite of that dangerous reptile. The perſon who has been bit ought immediately to take a root, bite off part of it, chew it for ſome time, and apply it to the wound. In five or ſix hours it will extract the whole poiſon, and no bad conſequences need be apprehended.

Ground-ivy is ſaid by the natives to poſſeſs many more virtues than are known to our botaniſts. It is ſaid to eaſe women in labour when drank in a decoction; to cure ulcers, if bruiſed and laid upon the ulcered part; to be a ſovereign remedy for the head-ach; a conſiderable quantity of its leaves bruiſed, and laid as a cataplaſm upon the head, quickly removes the pain. As this is an inconvenient application to a perſon that wears his hair, I thought of taking the ſalts of the plant, and I gave ſome of them in vulnerary water to a friend of mine who was often attacked with the head-ach, adviſing him likewiſe to draw up ſome drops by the noſe: he ſeldom practiſed this but he was relieved a few moments after.

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The Achechy is only to be found in the ſhade of a wood, and never grows higher than ſix or ſeven inches. It has a ſmall ſtalk, and its leaves are not above three lines long. Its root conſiſts of a great many ſprigs a line in diameter, full of red juice like chickens blood. Having tranſplanted this plant from an overſhadowed place into my garden, I expected to ſee it greatly improved; but it was not above an inch taller, and its head was only a little buſhier than uſual. It is with the juice of this plant that the natives dye their red colour. Having firſt dyed their feathers or hair yellow or a beautiful citron colour with the ayac wood, they boil the roots of the achechy in water, then ſqueeze them with all their force, and the expreſſed liquor ſerves for the red dye. That which was naturally white before it was dyed yellow, takes a beautiful ſcarlet; that which was brown, ſuch as buffalo's hair, which is of a cheſnut colour, becomes a reddiſh brown.

I ſhall not enlarge upon the ſtrawberries, which are of an excellent flavour, and ſo plentiful, that from the beginning of April the ſavannahs or meadows appear quite red with them. I ſhall alſo only juſt mention the tobacco, which I reſerve for the article of agriculture; but I ought not to omit to take notice, that hemp grows naturally on the lands adjoining to the lakes on the weſt of the Miſſiſippi. The ſtalks are as thick as one's finger, and about ſix feet long. They are quite like ours both in the wood, the leaf, and the rind. The flax which was ſown in this country roſe three feet high.

I cannot affirm from my own knowledge that the ſoil in this province produces either white muſhrooms or truffles. But morelles in their ſeaſon are to be found in the greateſt abundance, and round muſhrooms in the autumn.

When I conſider the mild temperature of this climate, I am perſuaded that all our flowers would ſucceed extremely well in it. The country has flowers peculiar to itſelf,

itſelf, and in ſuch abundance, that from the month of May till the end of ſummer, you can hardly ſee the graſs in the meadows; and of ſuch various hues that one is at a loſs which to admire moſt and declare to be the moſt beautiful. The number and diverſity of thoſe flowers quite enchant the ſight. I will not however attempt to give a particular account of them, as I am not qualified on this head to ſatify the deſires of the curious, from my having neglected to conſider the various flowers themſelves. I have ſeen ſingle and ſmall roſes without any ſmell; and another kind of roſe with four white petals, which in its ſmell, chives, and pointal, differed in nothing from our damaſk roſes. But of all the flowers of this country, that which ſtruck me moſt, as it is both very common and laſts a long time, is the flower called Lion's Mouth. The flowers which decorate its ſtalk, its ſhady colours, its blowing for more than three months, juſtly entitle it to the preference before all other flowers. It forms of itſelf an agreeable noſegay; and in my opinion, it deſerves to be ranked with the fineſt flowers, and to be cultivated with attention in the gardens of our kings.

As to cotton and indigo, I defer ſpeaking of them till I come to the chapter of agriculture.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Quadrupedes.

BEFORE I ſpeak of the animals which the firſt ſettlers found in Louiſiana, it is proper to obſerve, that all thoſe which were brought hither from France, or from New Spain and Carolina, ſuch as horſes, oxen, ſheep, goats, dogs, cats, and others, have multiplied and thriven perfectly well. However it ought to be remarked, that in Lower Louiſiana, where the ground is moiſt and much covered with wood, they can neither be ſo good nor ſo beautiful as in Higher Louiſiana, where the ſoil is dry, where there are moſt extenſive meadows, and where the ſun warms the earth to a much greater degree.

The buffalo is about the ſize of one of our largeſt oxen, but he appears rather bigger, on account of his long curled wool, which makes him appear to the eye much larger than he really is. This wool is very fine and very thick, and is of a dark cheſnut colour, as are likewiſe his briſtly hairs, which are alſo curled, and ſo long, that the buſh between his horns often falls over his eyes, and hinders him from ſeeing before him; but his ſenſe of hearing and ſmelling is ſo exquiſite as in ſome meaſure to ſupply the want of the other. A pretty large bunch riſes on his ſhoulders in the place where they join to the neck. His horns are thick, ſhort, and black; and his hoof is alſo black. The cows of this ſpecies have ſmall udders like thoſe of a mare.

This buffalo is the chief food of the natives, and of the French alſo for a long time paſt; the beſt piece is the bunch on the ſhoulders, the taſte of which is extremely delicate. They hunt this animal in the winter; for which purpoſe they leave Lower Louiſiana, and the river Miſſiſippi, as he cannot penetrate thither on account of the thickneſs of the woods; and beſides loves to feed on long graſs,

graſs, which is only to be found in the meadows of the high lands. In order to get near enough to fire upon him, they go againſt the wind, and they take aim at the hollow of the ſhoulder, that they may bring him to the ground at once, for if he is only ſlightly wounded, he runs againſt his enemy. The natives when hunting ſeldom chooſe to kill any but the cows, having experienced that the fleſh of the male ſmells rank; but this they might eaſily prevent, if they did but cut off the teſticles from the beaſt as ſoon as he is dead, as they do from ſtags and wild boars. By killing the males there is leſs hazard of diminiſhing the ſpecies than by killing the females; and beſides, the males have much more tallow, and their ſkins are the largeſt and beſt.

Theſe ſkins are an object of no ſmall conſideration. The natives dreſs them with their wool on, to ſuch great perfection, as to render them more pliable than our buff. They dye them different colours, and cloath themſelves therewith. To the French they ſupply the place of the beſt blankets, being at the ſame time very warm and very light.

The ſtag is entirely the ſame with that of France, only he is a little larger. They are only to be found in Upper Louiſiana, where the woods are much thinner than in Lower Louiſiana, and the cheſnuts which the ſtag greatly loves are very common.

The deer is very frequent in this province, notwithſtanding the great numbers of them that are killed by the natives. According to the hunters, he partly reſembles the ſtag, the rein-deer, and the roe-buck. As to myſelf, I can only ſay what I have ſeen; that he is about four feet high, has large horns bending forwards, and decorated with ſeveral antlers, the ends of which are formed ſomewhat like a roſe; that his fleſh is dry like that of ours, and when he is fat taſtes like mutton. They feed in herds, and are not in the leaſt of a fierce nature. They

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are exceſſively capricious, hardly remain a moment in one place, but are coming and going continually. The natives dreſs the ſkin extremely well, like buff, and afterwards paint it. Thoſe ſkins that are brought to France are often called does ſkins.

The natives hunt the deer ſometimes in companies, and ſometimes alone. The hunter who goes out alone, furniſhes himſelf with the dried head of a deer, with part of the ſkin of the neck faſtened to it, and this ſkin is ſtretched out with ſeveral hoops made of ſplit cane, which are kept in their places by other ſplits placed along the inſide of the ſkin, ſo that the hands and arms may be eaſily put within the neck. Being thus provided, he goes in queſt of the deer, and takes all neceſſary precautions not to be diſcovered by that animal: when he ſees one, he approaches it as gently as poſſible, hiding himſelf behind a buſh which he carries in his hand, till he be within ſhot of it. But if, before he can come near enough, the buck ſhakes its head, which is a ſign that he is going to make ſome capers and run away, the hunter immediately counterfeits the cries of thoſe animals when they call each other, in which caſe the buck frequently comes up towards him. He then ſhews the head which he holds in his hand, and by lowering and lifting his arm by turns, it makes the appearance of a buck feeding, and lifting his head from time to time to graze. The hunter ſtill keeps himſelf behind the buſh, till the buck comes near enough to him, and the moment he turns his ſide, he fires at the hollow of his ſhoulder, and lays him dead.

When the natives want to make the dance of the deer; or if they want to exerciſe themſelves merrily; or if it ſhould happen that the Great Sun inclines to ſuch ſport, they go about an hundred of them in a company to the hunting of this animal, which they muſt bring home alive. As it is a diverting exerciſe, many young men are generally of the party, who diſperſe themſelves in the meadows among the thickets

thickets in order to diſcover the deer. They no ſooner perceive one than they advance towards him in a wide creſcent, one point of which may be about a quarter of a league from the other. Part of the creſcent draws near to him, which frightens him away to another point; that part likewiſe advancing, he immediately flies back to the other ſide. He is kept thus running from one ſide to another a conſiderable time, on purpoſe to exerciſe the young men, and afford diverſion to the Great Sun, or to another Little Sun, who is nominated to ſupply his place. The deer ſometimes attempts to get out and eſcape by the openings of the creſcent, in which caſe thoſe who are at the points run forwards, and oblige him to go back. The creſcent then gradually forms a circle; and when they perceive the deer beginning to be tired, part of them ſtoop almoſt to the ground, and remain in that poſture till he approaches them, when they riſe and ſhout: he inſtantly flies off to the other ſide, where they do the ſame; by which means he is at length ſo exhauſted, that he is no longer able to ſtand on his legs, and ſuffers himſelf to be taken like a lamb. Sometimes, however, he defends himſelf on the ground with his antlers and foreſeet; they therefore uſe the precaution to ſeize upon him behind, and even in that caſe they are ſometimes wounded.

The hunters having ſeized the deer preſent it to the Great Sun, or in his abſence, to the perſon whom he ſent to repreſent him. If he ſays, *well*, the roe-buck is immediately opened, and its four quarters carried to the hut of the Great Sun, who gives portions of them to the chief men among the hunters.

The wolf is not above fifteen inches high, and of a proportionable length. He is not ſo brown as our wolves, nor ſo fierce and dangerous; he is therefore more like a dog than a wolf, eſpecially the dog of the natives, who differs from him in nothing, but that he barks. The

wolf is very common in the hunting countries; and when the hunter makes a hut for himſelf in the evening upon the bank of a river, if he ſees the wolf, he may be confident that the buffaloes are not at a very great diſtance. It is ſaid, that this animal, not daring to attack the buffalo when in a herd, will come and give notice to the hunter that he may kill him, in hopes of coming in for the offals. The wolves are actually ſo familiar, that they come and go on all ſides when looking for ſomething to eat, without minding in the leaſt whether they be near or at a diſtance from the habitations of men.

In my time two very large black wolves were ſeen in Louiſiana. The oldeſt inhabitants, and thoſe who travel to the remoteſt parts of the colony, declared that they had never before ſeen any ſuch; from whence it was concluded, that they were foreign wolves which had loſt their way. Fortunately they killed them both; for one of them was a ſhe-wolf big with young.

The bear appears in Louiſiana in winter, as the ſnows, which then cover the northern climates, hinder him from procuring a ſubſiſtence there, and force him ſouthwards. If ſome few are ſeen in the ſummer time, they are only the ſlow young bears, that have not been ſtrong enough to follow the herd northwards. The bear lives upon roots and fruits, particularly acorns; but his moſt delicate food is honey and milk. When he meets with either of theſe laſt, he will rather ſuffer himſelf to be killed than quit his prize. Our coloniſts have ſometimes diverted themſelves by burying a ſmall pail with ſome milk in it almoſt up to the edge in the ground, and ſetting two young bears to it. The conteſt then was which of the two ſhould hinder the other from taſting the milk, and both of them ſo tore the earth with their paws, and pulled at the pail, that they generally overturned the milk, before either of them had taſted of it.

In oppoſition to the general opinion, which ſuppoſes the bear a carnivorous animal, I affirm, with all the inhabitants of this colony, and the neighbouring countries, that he never feeds upon fleſh. It is indeed to be lamented that the firſt travellers had the impudence to publiſh to the world a thouſand falſe ſtories, which were eaſily believed becauſe they were new. People, ſo far from wiſhing to be undeceived, have even been offended with thoſe who attempted to detect the general errors; but it is my duty to ſpeak the truth, for the ſake of thoſe who are willing to hear it. What I maintain here is not a mere conjectural ſuppoſition, but a known fact over all North America, which may be atteſted by the evidence of a great number of people who have lived there, and by the traders who are going and coming continually. There is not one inſtance can be given of their having devoured men, notwithſtanding their great multitudes, and the extreme hunger which they muſt ſometimes have ſuffered; for even in that caſe they never ſo much as touch the butchers meat which they meet with.

The bears ſeldom quit the banks of the Miſſiſippi, as it is there that they can beſt procure a ſubſiſtence; but when I lived at the Natchez there happened ſo ſevere a winter, that thoſe animals came from the north in ſuch numbers that they ſtarved each other, and were very lean. Their great hunger obliged them to quit the woods which line the banks of the river; they were ſeen at night running among the ſettlements; and they ſometimes even entered thoſe court-yards that were not well ſhut; they there found butchers meat expoſed to the open air, but they never touched it, and eat only the corn or roots they could meet with. Certainly on ſuch an occaſion as this, and in ſuch a preſſing want, they would have proved carnivorous, if it had been in the leaſt degree their natural diſpoſition.

But perhaps one will ſay, "It is true they never touch dead fleſh; it is only living fleſh that they devour." That is being very delicate indeed, and what I can by no means allow them; for if they were fleſh-eaters, I greatly ſuſpect that, in the ſevere famine which I have ſpoken of, they would have made a hearty meal of the butchers meat which they found in the court-yards; or at leaſt would have devoured ſeveral perſons who fell in their way, which they never did. The following fact however will be a more compleat anſwer to this objection.

Two Canadians, who were on a journey, landed on a ſand-bank, when they perceived a bear croſſing the river. As he appeared fat, and conſequently would yield a great deal of oil, one of the travellers ran forwards and fired at him. Unhappily however he only ſlightly wounded him; and as the bears in that caſe always turn upon their enemy, the hunter was immediately ſeized by the wounded bear, who in a few moments ſqueezed him to death, without wounding him in the leaſt with his teeth, although his muzzle was againſt his face, and he muſt certainly have been exaſperated. The other Canadian, who was not above three hundred paces diſtance, ran to ſave his comrade with the utmoſt ſpeed, but he was dead before he came up to him; and the bear eſcaped into the wood. Upon examining the corpſe he found the place, where the bear had ſqueezed it, preſſed in two inches more than the reſt of the breaſt.

Some perhaps may ſtill add, that the mildneſs of the climate of Louiſiana may have an effect upon the diſpotion of the bears, and prevent them from being ſo voracious as thoſe of our continent; but I affirm that carnivorous animals retain the ſame diſpoſition in all countries. The wolves of Louiſiana are carnivorous as well as thoſe of Europe, although they differ in other particulars. The tigers of Africa, and thoſe of America, are equally miſchievous animals. The wild-cats of America, though

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very different from thoſe of Europe, have however the ſame appetite for mice when they are tamed. It is the ſame with other ſpecies, naturally inclined to live upon other animals; and the bears of America, if fleſh-eaters, would not quit the countries covered with ſnow, where they would find men and other animals in abundance, to come ſo far in ſearch of fruits and roots; which kind of nouriſhment carnivorous animals refuſe to taſte *.

Bears are ſeen very frequently in Louiſiana in the winter time, and they are ſo little dreaded, that the people ſometimes make it a diverſion to hunt them. When they are fat, that is about the end of December, they cannot run ſo faſt as a man; therefore the hunters are in no danger if they ſhould turn upon them. The ſhe-bears are tolerably fat when they are big with young; but after they have littered they quickly become lean.

The bears uſually arrive in Louiſiana towards the end of autumn; and then they are very lean, as they do not leave the north till the earth be wholly covered with ſnow, and find often but a very ſcanty ſubſiſtence in their way ſouthwards. I ſaid above, that thoſe animals ſeldom go to any great diſtance from the river; and on both banks travellers meet with ſuch a beaten path in winter, that to thoſe who are not acquainted with it, it appears like the track of men. I myſelf, the firſt time I obſerved it, was deceived by it. I was then near two hundred miles from any human dwelling, yet the path at firſt appeared to me as if it had been made by thouſands of men, who had walked that way bare-footed. Upon a narrower inſpection however, I obſerved, that the prints of the feet were ſhorter than that of a man, and that there was the impreſſion of a claw at the end of each toe. It is proper to

* Since I wrote the above account of the bears, I have been certainly informed, that in the mountains of Savoy there are two ſorts of bears. The one black, like that of Louiſiana, and not carnivorous; the other red, and no leſs carnivorous than the wolves. Both ſorts turn upon their enemy when wounded.

obſerve that in thoſe paths the bear does not pique himſelf upon politeneſs, and will yield the way to nobody; therefore it is prudent in a traveller not to fall out with him for ſuch a trifling affair.

The bears, after they have been a ſhort time in the country, and found abundance of fruits, turn fat and lazy, and it is then the natives go out to hunt them. The bear, when he is fat, huts himſelf, that is, retires into the hollow trunk of ſome rotten tree that has died on end. The natives, when they meet with any of thoſe trees, which they ſuſpect contains a bear in it, give two or three ſtrong blows againſt the trunk, and immediately run behind the next tree oppoſite to the loweſt breach. If there be a bear within, he appears in a few minutes at the breach, to look out and ſpy the occaſion of the diſturbance; but upon obſerving nothing likely to annoy him, he goes down again to the bottom of his caſtle.

The natives having once ſeen their prey, gather a heap of dried canes, which they bruiſe with their feet, that they may burn the eaſier, and one of them mounting upon a tree adjoining to that in which the bear is, ſets fire to the reeds, and darts them one after another into the breach; the other hunters having planted themſelves in ambuſcade upon other trees. The bear is quickly burned out of his habitation, and he no ſooner appears on the outſide, than they let fly their arrows at him, and often kill him before he gets to the bottom of the tree.

He is no ſooner dead than ſome of the hunters are diſpatched to look for a deer, and they ſeldom fail of bringing in one or two. When a deer is brought, they cut off the head, and then take off the ſkin whole, beginning at the neck, and rolling it down, as they cut it, like a ſtocking. The legs they cut off at the knee-joints, and having cleaned and waſhed the ſkin, they ſtop all the holes except the neck, with a kind of paſte made of the fat of the deer mixed with aſhes, over which they tie

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ſeveral bindings with the bark of the lime-tree. Having thus provided a kind of caſk, they fill it with the oil of the bear, which they prepare by boiling the fleſh and fat together. This Deer of Oil, as it is called, they ſell to the French for a gun, a yard of cloth, or any other thing of that value. The French, before they uſe it, purify it, by putting it into a large kettle, with a handful of laurel leaves; and ſprinkling it when it begins to be hot with ſome water, in which they have diſſolved a large quantity of ſalt. The ſmoke that riſes upon this ſprinkling carries off with it any bad ſmell the fat may have; they next pour it off into a veſſel, and eight days after there is found on the top of it a clear oil which ſerves all the purpoſes of olive oil; what remains below is a fine kind of lard, proper for the kitchen, and a ſovereign remedy for all kinds of pains. I myſelf was cured of the rheumatiſm in my ſhoulder by it.

The Tiger is not above a foot and a half high, and long in proportion: his hair is ſomewhat of a bright bay colour, and he is briſk as all tigers naturally are. His fleſh when boiled taſtes like veal, only it is not ſo inſipid. There are very few of them to be ſeen; I never ſaw but two near my ſettlement; and I have great reaſon to think that it was the ſame beaſt I ſaw both times. The firſt time he laid hold of my dog, who barked and howled; but upon my running towards him, the tiger left him. The next time he ſeized a pig; but this I likewiſe reſcued, and his claws had gone no deeper than the fat. This animal is not more carnivorous than fearful; he flies at the ſight of a man, and makes off with greater ſpeed, if you ſhout and halloo as he runs.

The Cat-a-mount is a kind of wild cat, as high as the tiger, but not ſo thick, and his ſkin is extremely beautiful. He is a great deſtroyer of poultry, but fortunately his ſpecies is rare.

Foxes are ſo numerous, that upon the woody heights you frequently ſee nothing but their holes. As the woods afford them plenty of game, they do not moleſt the poultry, which are always allowed to run at large. The foxes are exactly ſhaped like ours, but their ſkin is much more beautiful. Their hair is fine and thick, of a deep brown colour, and over this riſe ſeveral long ſilver-coloured hairs, which have a fine effect.

The Wild Cat has been improperly ſo called by the firſt French ſettlers in Louiſiana; for it has nothing of the cat but its nimble activity, and rather reſembles a monkey. It is not above eight or ten inches high, and about fifteen long. Its head is like that of a fox; it has long toes, but very ſhort claws, not made for ſeizing game; accordingly it lives upon fruit, bread, and other ſuch things. This animal may be tamed, and then becomes very frolickſome and full of tricks. The hair of thoſe that are tame is grey; but of the wild is reddiſh; neither of them is ſo beautiful as that of the fox; it grows very fat, and its fleſh is good to eat. I ſhall not deſcribe the real wild cat, as it is entirely like ours.

The Rabbit is extremely common over all Louiſiana; it is particular in this, that its pile is like that of the hare, and it never burrows. Its fleſh is white and delicate, and has the uſual taſte, without any rankneſs. There is no other kind of rabbit or hare, if you pleaſe to call it, in all the colony, than that above deſcribed.

The Wood-Rat has the head and tail of a common rat, but has the bulk and length of a cat. Its legs are ſhort, its paws long, and its toes are armed with claws: its tail is almoſt without hair, which ſerves for hooking itſelf to any thing; for when you take hold of it by that part, it immediately twiſts itſelf round your finger. Its pile is grey, and though very fine, yet is never ſmooth. The women among the natives ſpin it and dye it red. It hunts by night, and makes war upon the poultry, only

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ſucking their blood and leaving their fleſh. It is very rare to ſee any creature walk ſo ſlow; and I have often catched them when walking my ordinary pace. When he ſees himſelf upon the point of being caught, inſtinct prompts him to counterfeit being dead; and in this he perſeveres with ſuch conſtancy, that though laid on a hot gridiron, he will not make the leaſt ſign of life. He never moves, unleſs the perſon go to a diſtance or hide himſelf, in which caſe he endeavours as faſt as poſſible to eſcape into ſome hole or buſh.

When the ſhe-one is about to litter, ſhe chooſes a place in the thick buſhes at the foot of a tree, after which ſhe and the male crop a great deal of fine dry graſs, which is loaded upon her belly, and then the male drags her and her burden by the tail to the littering-place. She never quits her young a moment; but when ſhe is obliged to change her lodging, carries them with her in a pouch or double ſkin that wraps round her belly, and there they may ſleep or ſuck at their eaſe. The two ſides of this pouch lap ſo cloſe that the joining can hardly be obſerved; nor can they be ſeparated without tearing the ſkin. If the ſhe-one be caught carrying her young thus with her, ſhe will ſuffer herſelf to be roaſted alive, without the leaſt ſign of life, rather than open the pouch and expoſe her young ones. The fleſh of this animal is very good, and taſtes ſomewhat like that of a ſucking pig, when it is firſt broiled, and afterwards roaſted on the ſpit.

The Pole-cat or Skunk is about the ſize of a kitten eight months old. The male is of a beautiful black, but the female has rings of white intermixed with the black. Its ear and its paw are like that of a mouſe, and it has a very lively eye. I ſuppoſe it lives upon fruits and ſeeds. It is moſt juſtly called the Stinking Beaſt, for its odour is ſo ſtrong, that it may be purſued upon the track twenty-four hours after it has paſſed. It goes very ſlow, and when the hunter approaches it, it ſquirts out far and wide

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ſuch a ſtinking urine, that neither man nor beaſt can hardly approach it. A drop of this creature's blood, and probably ſome of its urine, having one day fallen upon my coat when I was hunting, I was obliged as faſt as poſſible to go home and change my cloaths; and before I could uſe my coat, it was ſcoured and expoſed for ſeveral days to the dew.

The Squirrels of Louiſiana are like thoſe of France, excepting one kind, which are called Flying-Squirrels, becauſe they leap from one tree to another, though the diſtance between them be twenty-five or thirty feet. It is about the ſize of a rat, and of a deep aſh-colour. Its two fore-legs are joined to its two hind-legs by two membranes, ſo that when it leaps it ſeems to fly, though it always leaps ſomewhat downwards. This animal may be very eaſily tamed; but even then it is beſt to chain it. There is another ſort, not much bigger than a mouſe, and of a bright bay-colour. Theſe are ſo familiar that they will come out of the woods, will enter the houſes, and ſit within two yards of the people of the houſe, if they do not make any motion; and there they will feed on any maiz within their reach. I never was ſo well diverted in my life with the frolics of any animal, as I have been with the vivacity and attitudes of this little ſquirrel.

The Porcupine is large and fine of his kind; but as he lives only upon fruit, and loves cold, is moſt common about the river Illinois, where the climate is ſomewhat cold, and there is plenty of wild fruits. The ſkin, when ſtripped of the quills, is white and brown. The natives dye part of the white, yellow and red, and the brown they dye black. They have likewiſe the art of ſplitting the ſkin, and applying it to many curious works, particularly to trim the edges of their deer-ſkin, and to line ſmall bark-boxes, which are very neat.

The Hedge-hog of Louiſiana is in every reſpect the ſame with that of Europe.

I ſhall not enlarge upon the Beavers, which are univerſally known, from the many deſcriptions we have of them.

The Otters are the ſame with thoſe of France, and there are but few of them to be ſeen.

Some Turtle are ſeen in this country; but very rarely. In the many hundred leagues of country that I have paſſed over, I have hardly ſeen above a hundred.

Frogs are very common, eſpecially in Lower Louiſiana, notwithſtanding the great number of ſnakes that deſtroy them. There are ſome that grow very large, ſometimes above a foot and an half long, and aſtoniſh ſtrangers at firſt by their croaking, eſpecially if they are in a hollow tree.

The Crocodile is very common in the river Miſſiſippi. Although this amphibious animal be almoſt as well known as thoſe I have juſt mentioned, I cannot however omit taking ſome notice of it. Without troubling the reader with a deſcription of it, which he will meet with every where, I ſhall obſerve that it ſhuns the banks of the river frequented by men. It lays its eggs in the month of May, when the ſun is already hot in that country, and it depoſits them in the moſt concealed place it can find among graſs expoſed to the heats of the ſouth. The eggs are about the ſize of thoſe of a gooſe, but longer in proportion. Upon breaking them you will find hardly any thing but white, the yolk being about the ſize of that of a young hen. I never ſaw any that were new hatched. The ſmalleſt I ever met with, which I concluded to be about three months old, was as long as a middle-ſized eel, and an inch and a half thick. I have killed one nineteen feet long, and three feet and a half in its greateſt breadth. A friend of mine killed one twenty-two feet long,

long, and the legs of both theſe, which on land ſeemed to move with great difficulty, were not above a foot in length. But however ſluggiſh they be on land, in the water they move with great agility.

This animal has his body always covered with ſlime, which is the caſe with all fiſhes that live in muddy waters. When he comes on ſhore his track is covered with that ſlime, as his belly trails on the ground, and this renders the earth very ſlippery in that part, eſpecially as he returns by the ſame path to the water. He never hunts the fiſh upon which he ſubſiſts; but places himſelf in ambuſcade, and catches them as they paſs. For that purpoſe he digs a hole in the bank of the river, below the ſurface of the water, where the current is ſtrong, having a ſmall entrance, but large enough within to turn himſelf round in. The fiſh, which are fatigued with the ſtrong current, are glad to get into the ſmooth water in that corner, and there they are immediately ſeized by the crocodile.

I ſhall not contradict the accounts of venerable antiquity about the crocodiles of the Nile, who fall upon men and devour them; who croſs the roads, and make a ſlippery path upon them to trip paſſengers, and make them ſlide into the river; who counterfeit the voice of an infant, to draw children into their ſnares; neither ſhall I contradict the travellers who have confirmed thoſe ſtories from mere hearſays. But as I profeſs to ſpeak the truth, and to advance nothing but what I am certain of from my own knowledge, I may ſafely affirm that the crocodiles of Louiſiana are doubtleſs of another ſpecies than thoſe of other countries. In fact, I never heard them imitate the cries of an infant, nor is it at all probable that they can counterfeit them. Their voice is as ſtrong as that of a bull. It is true they attack men in the water, but never on land, where they are not at all formidable. Beſides, there are nations that in great part ſubſiſt upon this animal, which is hunted out by the fathers

fathers and mothers, and killed by the children. What can we then believe of thoſe ſtories that have been told us of the crocodile? I myſelf killed all that ever I met of them; and they are ſo much the leſs to be dreaded, in that they can neither run nor riſe up againſt a man. In the water indeed, which is their favourite element, they are dangerous; but in that caſe it is eaſy to guard againſt them.

The largeſt of all the reptiles of Louiſiana, is the Rattle-Snake: ſome of them have been ſeen fifteen inches thick, and long in proportion; but this ſpecies is naturally ſhorter in proportion to their thickneſs than the other kinds of ſerpents. This ſerpent gets its name from ſeveral hollow knots at its tail, very thin and dry, which make a rattling noiſe. Theſe knots, though inſerted into each other, are yet quite detached, and only the firſt of them is faſtened to the ſkin. The number of the knots, it is ſaid, marks the age of the ſerpent, and I am much inclined to believe it; for as I have killed a great number of them, I always obſerved, that the longer and thicker the ſerpent was, it had the more knots. Its ſkin is almoſt black; but the lower part of its belly is ſtriped black and white.

As ſoon as it hears or ſees a man, it rouſes itſelf by ſhaking its tail, which makes a rattling noiſe that may be heard at ſeveral paces diſtance, and gives warning to the traveller to be upon his guard. It is much to be dreaded when it coils itſelf up in a ſpiral line, for then it may eaſily dart upon a man. It ſhuns the habitations of men, and by a ſingular providence, wherever it retires to, there the herb which cures its bite, is likewiſe to be found.

There are ſeveral other kinds of ſerpents to be ſeen here, ſome of whieh reſemble thoſe of France, and attempt to ſlip into the hen-houſes to devour the eggs and new-hatched chickens. Others are green, about two feet long, and not thicker than a gooſe-quill; they frequent the

the meadows, and may be ſeen running over the ſpires of graſs, ſuch is their lightneſs and nimbleneſs.

Vipers are very rare in Lower Louiſiana, as that reptile loves ſtoney grounds. In the highlands they are now-and-then to be met with, and there they quite reſemble ours.

Lizards are very common: there is a ſmall kind of theſe that are called Cameleons, becauſe they change their colour according to that of the place they paſs over *.

Among the ſpiders of Louiſiana there is one kind that will appear very extraordinary. It is as large, but rather longer than a pigeon's egg, black, with gold-coloured ſpecks. Its claws are pierced through above the joints. It does not carry its eggs like the reſt, but encloſes them in a kind of cup covered with its ſilk. It lodges itſelf in a kind of nut made of the ſame ſilk, and hung to the branches of the trees. The web which this inſect weaves is ſo ſtrong, that it not only ſtops birds, but cannot even be broken by men without a conſiderable effort.

I never ſaw any Moles in Louiſiana, nor heard of any being ſeen by others.

* When the Cameleon is angry, a nerve riſes arch-wiſe from his mouth to the middle of his throat; and the ſkin which covers it is ſo ſtretched as to remain red, whatever colour the reſt of the body be. He never does any hurt, and always runs away when obſerved.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Of Birds, and flying Inſects.

BIRDS are ſo very numerous in Louiſiana, that if all the different kinds of them were known, which is far from being the caſe at preſent, the deſcription of them alone would require an entire volume. I only undertake the deſcription of all thoſe which have come within my knowledge, the number of which, I am perſuaded, will be ſufficient to ſatisfy the curious reader.

The Eagle, the king of birds, is ſmaller than the eagle of the Alps; but he is much more beautiful, being entirely white, excepting only the tips of his wings, which are black. As he is alſo very rare, this is another reaſon for heightening his value to the natives, who purchaſe at a great price the large feathers of his wings, with which they ornament the Calumet, or Symbol of Peace, as I have elſewhere deſcribed.

When ſpeaking of the king of birds, I ſhall take notice of the Wren, called by the French Roitelet (Petty King) which is the ſame in Louiſiana as in France. The reaſon of its name in French will plainly enough appear from the following hiſtory. A magiſtrate, no leſs remarkable for his probity than for the rank he holds in the law, aſſured me that, when he was at Sables d'Olonne in Poitou, on account of an eſtate which he had in the neighbourhood of that city, he had the curioſity to go and ſee a white eagle which was then brought from America. After he had entered the houſe a wren was brought, and let fly in the hall where the eagle was feeding. The wren perched upon a beam, and was no ſooner perceived by the eagle, than he left off feeding, flew into a corner, and hung down his head. The little bird, on the other hand, began to chirp and appear angry, and a moment after flew upon the neck of the eagle, and pecked him

with the greateſt fury, the eagle all the while hanging his head in a cowardly manner, between his feet. The wren, after ſatisfying its animoſity, returned to the beam.

The Falcon, the Hawk, and the Taſſel are the ſame as in France; but the falcons are much more beautiful than ours.

The Carrion-Crow, or Turky-Buſtard, is of the ſize and ſhape of a Turky-cock; his head is covered with red fleſh, and his plumage is black: he has a hooked beak, but his toes are armed with very ſmall talons, and are therefore very improper for ſeizing live game, which indeed he does not chuſe to attack, as his want of agility prevents him from darting upon it with the rapidity of a bird of prey. Accordingly he lives only upon the dead beaſts that he happens to meet with, and yet notwithſtanding this kind of food he ſmells of muſk. Several people maintain, that the Carrion-Crow, or Carancro, is the ſame with our Vulture. The Spaniards forbid the killing of it under pain of corporal puniſhment; for as they do not uſe the whole carcaſe of the buffaloes which they kill, thoſe birds eat what they leave, which otherwiſe, by rotting on the ground, would, according to them, infect the air.

The Cormorant is ſhaped very much like a duck, but its plumage is different and much more beautiful. This bird frequents the ſhores of the ſea and of lakes, but rarely appears in rivers. Its uſual food is fiſh; but as it is very voracious, it likewiſe eats dead fleſh; and this it can tear to pieces by means of a notch in its bill, which is about the ſize of that of a duck.

The Swan of Louiſiana are like thoſe of France, only they are larger. However, notwithſtanding their bulk and their weight, they often riſe ſo high in the air, that they cannot be diſtinguiſhed but by their ſhrill cry. Their fleſh is very good to eat, and their fat is a ſpecific againſt cold humours. The natives ſet a great value upon

upon the feathers of the Swan. Of the large ones they make the diadems of their ſovereigns, hats, and other ornaments; and they weave the ſmall ones as the perukemakers weave hair, and make coverings of them for their noble women. The young people of both ſexes make tippets of the ſkin, without ſtripping it of its down.

The Canada-Gooſe is a water-fowl, of the ſhape of a gooſe; but twice as large and heavy. Its plumage is aſh-coloured; its eyes are covered with a black ſpot; its cries are different from thoſe of a gooſe, and ſhriller; its fleſh is excellent.

The Pelican is ſo called from its large head, its large bill, and above all for its large pouch, which hangs from its neck, and has neither feather nor down. It fills this pouch with fiſh, which it afterwards diſgorges for the nouriſhment of its young. It never removes from the ſhores of the ſea, and is often killed by ſailors for the ſake of the pouch, which when dried ſerves them as a purſe for their tobacco.

The Geeſe are the ſame with the wild geeſe of France. They abound upon the ſhores of the ſea and of lakes, but are rarely ſeen in rivers.

In this country there are three kinds of Ducks; firſt, the Indian Ducks, ſo called becauſe they came originally from that country. Theſe are almoſt entirely white, having but a very few grey feathers. On each ſide of their head they have fleſh of a more lively red than that of the Turky-cock, and they are larger than our tame ducks. They are as tame as thoſe of Europe, and their fleſh when young is delicate, and of a fine flavour. The Wild Ducks are fatter, more delicate, and of better taſte than thoſe of France; but in other reſpects they are entirely the ſame. For one you ſee in France you may here count a thouſand. The Perching-Ducks, or Carolina Summer-Ducks, are ſomewhat larger than our teals. Their plumage is quite beautiful, and ſo changeable that no painting can imitate

it. Upon their head they have a beautiful tuft of the moſt lively colours, and their red eyes appear like flames. The natives ornament their calumets or pipes with the ſkin of their neck. Their fleſh is very good, but when it is too fat it taſtes oily. Theſe ducks are to be met with the whole year round; they perch upon the branches of trees, which the others do not, and it is from this they have their name.

The Teal are found in every ſeaſon; and they differ nothing from thoſe of France but in having a finer reliſh.

The Divers of Louiſiana are the ſame with thoſe of France: they no ſooner ſee the fire in the pan, than they dive ſo ſuddenly that the ſhot cannot touch them, and they are therefore called Lead-Eaters.

The Saw-bill has the inſide of its beak indented like the edge of a ſaw: it is ſaid to live wholly upon ſhrips, the ſhells of which it can eaſily break.

The Crane is a very common water-fowl; it is larger than a turkey, very lean, and of an excellent taſte. It eats ſomewhat like beef, and makes very good ſoup.

The Flamingo has only a little down upon its head; its plumage is grey, and its fleſh good.

The Spatula has its name from the form of its bill, which is about ſeven or eight inches long, an inch broad towards the head, and two inches and a half towards the extremity; it is not quite ſo large as a wild gooſe; its thighs and legs are about the height of thoſe of a turkey. Its plumage is roſe-coloured, the wings being brighter than any other part. This is a water-fowl, and its fleſh is very good.

The Heron of Louiſiana is not in the leaſt different from that of Europe.

The Egret, or White Heron, is ſo called from tufts of feathers upon the wings near the body, which hinder it from

from flying high; it is a water-fowl with white plumage; but its fleſh taſtes very oily.

The Bec-croche, or Crook-bill, has indeed a crooked bill, with which it ſeizes the cray-fiſh upon which it ſubſiſts. Its fleſh has that taſte, and is red. Its plumage is a whitiſh grey; and it is about the ſize of a capon.

The Indian Water-Hen, and the Green-Foot, are the ſame as in France.

The Hatchet-Bill is ſo called on account of its bill, which is red, and formed like the edge of an ax. Its feet are alſo of a beautiful red, and it is therefore often called Red-Foot. As it lives upon ſhell-fiſh, it never removes from the ſea-coaſt, but upon the approach of a ſtorm, which is always ſure to follow its retiring into the inland parts.

The King-Fiſher excels ours in nothing but in the beauty of its plumage, which is as various as the rainbow. This bird, it is well known, goes always againſt the wind; but perhaps few people know that it preſerves the ſame property when it is dead. I myſelf hung a dead one by a ſilk thread directly over a ſea-compaſs, and I can declare it as a fact, that the bill was always turned towards the wind.

The Sea-Lark and Sea-Snipe never quit the ſea; their fleſh may be eat, as it has very little of the oily taſte.

The Frigate-Bird is a large bird, which in the day-time keeps itſelf in the air above the ſhore of the ſea. It often riſes very high, probably for exerciſe; for it feeds upon fiſh, and every night retires to the coaſt. It appears larger than it really is, as it is covered with a great many feathers of a grey colour. Its wings are very long, its tail forked, and it cuts the air with great ſwiftneſs.

The Draught-Bird is a large bird, not much unlike the Frigate-Bird, as light, but not ſo ſwift. The under-part of its plumage is chequered brown and white, but the upper-part is of greyiſh brown.

The Fool is of a yellowiſh colour, and about the ſize of a hen; it is ſo called, becauſe it will ſuffer a man to approach it ſo near as to ſeize it with his hand: but even then it is too ſoon to cry victory; for if the perſon who ſeizes it does not take the greateſt precaution, it will ſnap off his finger at one bite.

When thoſe three laſt birds are obſerved to hover very low over the ſhore, we may moſt certainly expect an approaching ſtorm. On the other hand, when the ſailors ſee the Halcyons behind their veſſel, they expect and generally meet with fine weather for ſome days.

Since I have mentioned the Halcyon, I ſhall here deſcribe it. It is a ſmall bird, about the ſize of a ſwallow, but its beak is longer, and its plumage is violet-coloured. It has two ſtreaks of a yellowiſh brown at the end of the feathers of its wings, which when it ſits appear upon its back. When we left Louiſiana, near an hundred halcyons followed our veſſel for near three days: they kept at the diſtance of about a ſtone-caſt, and ſeemed to ſwim, yet I could never diſcover that their feet were webbed, and was therefore greatly ſurpriſed. They probably live upon the ſmall inſects that drop from the outſide of the veſſel when ſailing; for they now-and-then dived, and came up in the ſame place. I have ſome ſuſpicion that, by keeping in the wake of the ſhip, they float after it without ſwimming; for when they happened to be out of the wake of the ſhip, they were obliged to fly, in order to come up with the ſhip again. This bird is ſaid to build its neſt of the glutinous froth of the ſea cloſe upon the ſhore, and to launch it when a land breeze ariſes, raiſing one of its wings in the form of a ſail, which receiving the wind, helps to carry it out to ſea.

I ſhall now proceed to ſpeak of the fowls which frequent the woods, and ſhall begin with the Wild-Turky, which is very common all over the colony. It is finer, larger, and better than that in France. The feathers

of

of the turky are of a duſkiſh grey, edged with a ſtreak of gold colour, near half an inch broad. In the ſmall feathers the gold-coloured ſtreak is not above one tenth of an inch broad. The natives make fans of the tail, and of four tails joined together, the French make an umbrella. The women among the natives weave the feathers as our peruke-makers weave their hair, and faſten them to an old covering of bark, which they likewiſe line with them, ſo that it has down on both ſides. Its fleſh is more delicate, fatter, and more juicy than that of ours. They go in flocks, and with a dog one may kill a great many of them. I never could procure any of the turky's eggs, to try to hatch them, and diſcover whether they were as difficult to bring up in this country as in France, ſince the climate of both countries is almoſt the ſame. My ſlave told me, that in his nation they brought up the young turkies as eaſily as we do chickens.

The Pheaſant is the moſt beautiful bird that can be painted, and in every reſpect entirely like that of Europe. Their rarity, in my opinion, makes them more eſteemed than they deſerve. I would at any time prefer a ſlice off the fillet of a buffalo to any pheaſant.

The Partridges of Louiſiana are not larger than a wood-pigeon. Their plumage is exactly the ſame with that of our grey partridges; they have alſo the horſe-ſhoe upon the breaſt; they perch upon trees, and are ſeldom ſeen in flocks. Their cry conſiſts only of two ſtrong notes, ſomewhat reſembling the name given them by the natives, who call them Ho-ouy. Their fleſh is white and delicate, but, like all the other game in this country, it has no *fumet*, and only excels in the fine taſte.

The Woodcock is very rare, becauſe it is only to be met with in inhabited countries. It is like that of France; its fleſh is white, but rather plumper and more delicate than that of ours, which is owing to the plenty and goodneſs of its fruit.

The Snipe is much more common than the woodcock, and in this country is far from being ſhy. Its fleſh is white, and of a much better reliſh than that of ours.

I am of opinion that the Quail is very rare in Louiſiana; I have ſometimes heard it, but never ſaw it, nor know any Frenchman that ever did.

Some of our coloniſts have thought proper to give the name of Ortolan to a ſmall bird which has the ſame plumage, but in every other reſpect does not in the leaſt reſemble it.

The Çorbijeau is as large as the woodcock, and very common. Its plumage is varied with ſeveral ſhady colours, and is different from that of the woodcock; its feet and beak are alſo longer, which laſt is crooked and of a reddiſh yellow colour; its fleſh is likewiſe firmer and better taſted.

The Parroquet of Louiſiana is not quite ſo large as thoſe that are uſually brought to France. Its plumage is uſually of a fine ſea-green, with a pale roſe-coloured ſpot upon the crown, which brightens into red towards the beak, and fades off into green towards the body. It is with difficulty that it learns to ſpeak, and even then it rarely practiſes it, reſembling in this the natives themſelves, who ſpeak little. As a ſilent parrot would never make its fortune among our French ladies, it is doubtleſs on this account that we ſee ſo few of theſe in France.

The Turtle-Dove is the ſame with that of Europe, but few of them are ſeen here.

The Wood-Pigeons are ſeen in ſuch prodigious numbers, that I do not fear to exaggerate, when I affirm that they ſometimes cloud the ſun. One day on the banks of the Miſſiſippi I met with a flock of them which was ſo large, that before they all paſſed, I had leiſure to fire with the ſame piece four times at them. But the rapidity of their flight was ſo great, that though I do not fire ill, with my four ſhots I brought down but two.

Theſe

Theſe birds come to Louiſiana only in the winter, and remain in Canada during the ſummer, where they devour the corn, as they eat the acorns in Louiſiana. The Canadians have uſed every art to hinder them from doing ſo much miſchief, but without ſucceſs. But if the inhabitants of thoſe colonies were to go a fowling for thoſe birds in the manner that I have done, they would inſenſibly deſtroy them. When they walk among the high foreſt trees, they ought to remark under what trees the largeſt quantity of dung is to be ſeen. Thoſe trees being once diſcovered, the hunters ought to go out when it begins to grow dark, and carry with them a quantity of brimſtone which they muſt ſet fire to in ſo many earthen plates placed at regular diſtances under the trees. In a very ſhort time they will hear a ſhower of wood-pigeons falling to the ground, which, by the light of ſome dried canes, they may gather into ſacks, as ſoon as the brimſtone is extinguiſhed.

I ſhall here give an inſtance that proves not only the prodigious number of thoſe birds, but alſo their ſingular inſtinct. In one of my journeys at land, when I happened to be upon the bank of the river, I heard a confuſed noiſe which ſeemed to come along the river from a conſiderable diſtance below us. As the ſound continued uniformly I embarked, as faſt as I could, on board the pettyaugre, with four other men, and ſteered down the river, keeping in the middle, that I might go to any ſide that beſt ſuited me. But how great was my ſurpriſe when I approached the place from whence the noiſe came, and obſerved it to proceed from a thick ſhort pillar on the bank of the river. When I drew ſtill nearer to it, I perceived that it was formed by a legion of wood-pigeons, who kept continually flying up and down ſucceſſively among the branches of an ever-green oak, in order to beat down the acorns with their wings. Every now and then ſome alighted to eat the acorns which they themſelves or the others had beat down; for they all acted in common, and eat in common;

no avarice nor private intereſt appearing among them, but each labouring as much for the reſt as for himſelf.

Crows are common in Louiſiana, and as they eat no carrion their fleſh is better taſted than that of the crows of France. Whatever their appetite may be, they dare not for the carrion crow approach any carcaſs.

I never ſaw any Ravens in this country, and if there be any they muſt be very rare.

The Owls are larger and whiter than in France, and their cry is much more frightful. The Little Owl is the ſame with ours, but much more rare. Theſe two birds are more common in Lower Louiſiana than in the higher.

The Magpye reſembles thoſe of Europe in nothing but its cry; it is more delicate, is quite black, has a different manner of flying, and chiefly frequents the coaſts.

The Blackbirds are black all over, not excepting their bills nor their feet, and are almoſt as large again as ours. Their notes are different, and their fleſh is hard.

There are two ſorts of Starlings in this country; one grey and ſpotted, and the other black. In both the tip of the ſhoulder is of a bright red. They are only to be ſeen in winter; and then they are ſo numerous, that upwards of three hundred of them have been taken at once in a net. A beaten path is made near a wood, and after it is cleaned and ſmoothed, it is ſtrewed with rice. On each ſide of this path is ſtretched a long narrow ſilken net, with very ſmall meſhes, and made to turn over at once by ſtrings faſtened to the ſtick that ſtretches the end of it. The ſtarlings no ſooner alight to pick up the grain, than the fowler, who lies concealed with the ſtrings in his hand, pulls the net over them.

The Wood-pecker is much the ſame as in France; but here there are two kinds of them; one has grey feathers ſpotted with black; the other has the head and the neck of a bright red, and the reſt of the body as the former.

This

This bird lives upon the worms which it finds in rotten wood, and not upon ants, as a modern author would have us believe, for want of having conſidered the nature of the things which he relates. The bird, when looking for its food, examines the trunks of trees that have loſt their bark; it claſps by its feet with its belly cloſe to the tree, and hearkens if it can hear a worm eating the wood; in this manner it leaps from place to place upon the trunk till it hears a worm, then it pierces the wood in that part, pricks the worm with its hard and pointed tongue, and draws it out. The arms which nature has furniſhed it with are very proper for this kind of hunting; its claws are hard and very ſharp; its beak is formed like a little ax, and is very hard; its neck is long and flexible, to give proper play to its beak; and its hard tongue, which it can extend three or four inches, has a moſt ſharp point with ſeveral beards that help to hold the prey.

The Swallows of this country have that part yellow which ours have white, and they, as well as the martins, live in the woods.

The Nightingale differs in nothing from ours in reſpect to its ſhape or plumage, unleſs that it has the bill a little longer. But in this it is particular that it is not ſhy, and ſings through the whole year, though rarely. Is is very eaſy to entice them to your roof, where it is impoſſible for the cats to reach them, by laying ſomething for them to eat upon a lath, with a piece of the ſhell of a gourd which ſerves to hold their neſt. You may in that caſe depend upon their not changing their habitation.

The Pope is a bird that has a red and black plumage. It has got that name perhaps becauſe its colour makes it look ſomewhat old, and none but old men are promoted to that dignity; or becauſe its notes are ſoft, feeble, and rare; or laſtly, becauſe they wanted a bird of that name in the colony, having two other kinds named cardinals and biſhops.

The Cardinal owes its name to the bright red of the feathers, and to a little cowl on the hind part of the head, which reſembles that of the biſhop's ornament, called a camail. It is as large as a black-bird, but not ſo long. Its bill and toes are large, ſtrong, and black. Its notes are ſo ſtrong and piercing that they are only agreeable in the woods. It is remarkable for laying up its winter proviſion in the ſummer, and near a Paris buſhel of maiz has been found in its retreat, artfully covered, firſt with leaves and then with ſmall branches, with only a little opening for the bird itſelf to enter.

The Biſhop is a bird ſmaller than the linnet; its plumage is a violet-coloured blue, and its wings, which ſerve it for a cope, are entirely violet-colour. Its notes are ſo ſweet, ſo variable, and tender, that thoſe who have once heard it, are apt to abate in their praiſes of the nightingale. I had ſuch great pleaſure in hearing this charming bird, that I left an oak ſtanding very near my apartment, upon which he uſed to come and perch, though I very well knew, that the tree, which ſtood ſingle, might be overturned by a blaſt of wind, and fall upon my houſe to my great loſs.

The Humming-Bird is not larger even with its feathers than a large beetle. The colour of its feathers is variable, according to the light they are expoſed in; in the ſun they appear like enamel upon a gold ground, which delights the eyes. The longeſt feathers of the wings of this bird are not much more than half an inch long; its bill is about the ſame length, and pointed like an awl; and its tongue reſembles a ſowing needle; its feet are like thoſe of a large fly. Notwithſtanding its little ſize, its flight is ſo rapid, that it is always heard before it be ſeen. Although like the bee it ſucks the flowers, it never reſts upon them, but ſupports itſelf upon its wings, and paſſes from one flower to another with the rapidity of lightening. It is a rare thing to catch a humming-bird alive; one of my

friends however had the happineſs to catch one. He had obſerved it enter the flower of a convolvulus, and as it had quite buried itſelf to get at the bottom, he ran forwards, ſhut the flower, cut it from the ſtalk, and carried off the bird a priſoner. He could not however prevail upon it to eat, and it died four days after.

The Troniou is a ſmall bird about the ſize of a ſparrow; its plumage is likewiſe the ſame; but its beak is ſlenderer. Its notes ſeem to expreſs its name.

The French ſettlers raiſe in this province turkies of the ſame kind with thoſe of France, fowls, capons, &c. of an excellent taſte. The pigeons for their fine flavour and delicacy are preferred by Europeans to thoſe of any other country. The Guinea fowl is here delicious.

In Louiſiana we have two kinds of Silk-worms; one was brought from France, the other is natural to the country. I ſhall enlarge upon them under the article of agriculture.

The Tobacco-worm is a caterpillar of the ſize and figure of a ſilk-worm. It is of a fine ſea-green colour, with rings of a ſilver colour; on its rump it has a ſting near a quarter of an inch long. Theſe inſects quickly do a great deal of miſchief, therefore care is taken every day, while the tobacco is riſing, to pick them off and kill them.

In ſummer Caterpillars are ſometimes found upon the plants, but theſe inſects are very rare in the colony. Glow-worms are here the ſame as in France.

Butterflies are not near ſo common as in France; the conſequence of there being fewer caterpillars; but they are of incomparable beauty, and have the moſt brilliant colours. In the meadows are to be ſeen black graſhoppers, which almoſt always walk, rarely leap, and ſtill ſeldomer fly. They are about the ſize of a finger or thumb, and their head is ſhaped ſomewhat like that of a horſe.

Their

Their four ſmall wings are of a moſt beautiful purple. Cats are very fond of graſhoppers.

The Bees of Louiſiana lodge in the earth, to ſecure their honey from the ravages of the bears. Some few indeed build their combs in the trunks of trees, as in Europe; but by far the greateſt number in the earth in the lofty foreſts, where the bears ſeldom go.

The Flies are of two kinds, one a yellowiſh brown, as in France, and the other black.

The Waſps in this country take up their abode near the houſes where they ſmell victuals. Several French ſettlers endeavoured to root them out of their neighbourhood; but I acted otherwiſe; for reflecting, that no flies are to be ſeen where the waſps frequent, I invited them by hanging up a piece of fleſh in the air.

The Quick-ſtinger is a long and yellowiſh fly, and it receives its name from its ſtinging the moment it lights. The common flies of France are very common alſo in Louiſiana.

The Cantharides, or Spaniſh flies, are very numerous, and larger than in Europe; they are of ſuch an acid nature, that if they but ſlightly touch the ſkin as they paſs, a pretty large bliſter inſtantly riſes. Theſe flies live upon the leaves of the oak.

The Green-flies appear only every other year, and the natives ſuperſtitiouſly look upon their appearance as a preſage of a good crop. It is a pity that the cattle are ſo greatly moleſted by them, that they cannot remain in the fields; for they are extremely beautiful, and twice as large as bees.

Fire flies are very common; when the night is ſerene they are ſo very numerous, that if the light they dart out were conſtant, one might ſee as clearly as in fine moonſhine.

The Fly-ants, which we ſee attach themſelves to the flower of the acacia, and which diſappear when that flower

flower is gone, do not proceed from the common ants. The fly ants, though ſhaped like the other kind, are however longer and larger. They have a ſquare head; their colour is a browniſh red bordered with black; they have four red and grey wings, and fly like common flies, which the other ants do not even when they have wings.

The Dragon-flies are pretty numerous; they do not want to deſtroy them becauſe they feed upon moſkitos, which is one of the moſt troubleſome kind of inſects.

The Moſkitos are famous all over America, for their multitude, the troubleſomeneſs of their buzzing, and the venom of their ſtings, which occaſion an inſupportable itching, and often form ſo many ulcers, if the perſon ſtung does not immediately put ſome ſpittle on the wound. In open places they are leſs tormenting; but ſtill they are troubleſome; and the beſt way of driving them out of the houſes is to burn a little brimſtone in the mornings and evenings. The ſmoke of this infallibly kills them, and the ſmell keeps others away for ſeveral days. An hour after the brimſtone has been burnt, the apartments may be ſafely entered into by men.

By the ſame means we may rid ourſelves of the flies and moſkitos, whoſe ſting is ſo painful and ſo frequent during the ſhort time they fly about; for they do not riſe till about ſun-ſet, and they retire at night. This is not the caſe with the Burning-fly. Theſe, though not much larger than the point of a pin, are inſupportable to the people who labour in the fields. They fly from ſun-riſing to ſun-ſetting, and the wounds they give burn like fire.

The Lavert is an inſect about an inch and a quarter long, a little more than a quarter broad, and but a tenth part of an inch thick. It enters the houſes by the ſmalleſt crevices, and in the night-time it falls upon diſhes that are even covered with a plate, which renders it very troubleſome to thoſe whoſe houſes are only built of wood. But they are ſo reliſhing to the cats, that theſe laſt quit every

every thing to fall upon them wherever they perceive them. When a new ſettler has once cleared the ground about his houſe, and is at ſome diſtance from the woods, he is quickly freed from them.

In Louiſiana there are white ants, which ſeem to love dead wood. Perſons who have been in the Eaſt-Indies have aſſured me, that they are quite like thoſe which in that country are called *cancarla*, and that they would eat through glaſs, which I never had the experience of. There are in Louiſiana, as in France, red, black, and flying ants.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Fiſhes and Shell-Fiſh.

THOUGH there is an incredible quantity of fiſhes in this country, I ſhall however be very conciſe in my account of them; becauſe during my abode in the country they were not ſufficiently known; and the people were not experienced enough in the art of catching them. The moſt of the rivers being very deep, and the Miſſiſippi, as I have mentioned, being between thirty-eight and forty fathoms, from its mouth to the fall of St. Anthony, it may be eaſily conceived that the inſtruments uſed for fiſhing in France, cannot be of any uſe in Louiſiana, becauſe they cannot go to the bottom of the rivers, or at leaſt ſo deep as to prevent the fiſh from eſcaping. The line therefore can be only uſed, and it is with it they catch all the fiſh that are eaten by the ſettlers upon the river. I proceed to an account of thoſe fiſh.

The Barbel is of two ſorts, the large and the ſmall. The firſt is about four feet long, and the ſmalleſt of this ſort that is ever ſeen is two feet long, the young ones doubtleſs keeping at the bottom of the water. This kind has a very large head, and a round body, which gradually leſ-

ſens

ſens towards the tail. The fiſh has no ſcales, nor any bones, excepting that of the middle: its fleſh is very good and delicate, but in a ſmall degree very inſipid, which is eaſily remedied; in other reſpects it eats very like the freſh cod of the country.

The ſmall is from a foot to two in length. Its head is ſhaped like that of the other kind; but its body is not ſo round, nor ſo pointed at the tail.

The Carp of the river Miſſiſippi is monſtrous. None are ſeen under two feet long; and many are met with three and four feet in length. The carps are not ſo very good in the lower part of the river; but the higher one goes the finer they are, on account of the plenty of ſand in thoſe parts. A great number of carps are carried into the lakes that are filled by the overflowing of the river, and in thoſe lakes they are found of all ſizes, in great abundance, and of a better reliſh than thoſe of the river.

The Burgo-Breaker is an excellent fiſh; it is uſually a foot and a foot and a half long: it is round, with gold-coloured ſcales. In its throat it has two bones with a ſurface like that of a file to break the ſhell-fiſh named Burgo. Though delicate, it is nevertheleſs very firm. It is beſt when not much boiled.

The Ring-Skate is found in the river up as far as New Orleans, but no higher. It is very good, and no way tough. In other reſpects it is exactly like that of France.

The Spatula is ſo called, becauſe from its ſnout a ſubſtance extends about a foot in length, in the form of an apothecary's ſpatula. This fiſh, which is about two feet in length, is neither round or flat, but ſquare, having at its ſides and in the under part bones that form an angle like thoſe of the back.

No Pikes are caught above a foot and a half long. As this is a voracious fiſh, perhaps the Armed-fiſh purſues it, both from jealouſy and appetite. The pike, beſides being ſmall, is very rare.

The

The Choupic is a very beautiful fiſh; many people miſtake it for the trout, as it takes a fly in the ſame manner. But it is very different from the trout, as it prefers muddy and dead water to a clear ſtream, and its fleſh is ſo ſoft that it is only good when fried.

The Sardine or ſmall Pilchard of the river Miſſiſippi, is about three or four fingers in breadth, and between ſix and ſeven inches long; it is good and delicate. One year I ſalted about the quantity of forty pints of them, and all the French who eat of them acknowledged them to be Sardines from their fleſh, their bones, and their taſte. They appear only for a ſhort ſeaſon, and are caught by the natives, when ſwimming againſt the ſtrongeſt current, with nets made for that purpoſe only.

The Pataſſa, ſo called by the natives for its flatneſs, is the roach or freſh-water mullet of this country.

The Armed-Fiſh has its name from its arms, and its ſcaly mail. Its arms are its very ſharp teeth, about the tenth of an inch in diameter, and as much diſtant from each other, and near half an inch long. The interval of the larger teeth is filled with ſhorter teeth. Theſe arms are a proof of its voracity. Its mail is nothing but its ſcales, which are white, as hard as ivory, and about the tenth of an inch in thickneſs. They are near an inch long, about half as much in breadth, end in a point, and have two cutting ſides. There are two ranges of them down the back, ſhaped exactly like the head of a ſpontoon, and oppoſite to the point of the ſcale has a little ſhank, about three tenths of an inch long, which the natives inſert into the end of their arrows, making the ſcale ſerve for a head. The fleſh of this fiſh is hard and not reliſhing.

There are a great number of Eels in the river Miſſiſippi, and very large ones are found in all the rivers and creeks.

The whole lower part of the river abounds in Cray-fiſh. Upon my firſt arrival in the colony the ground was covered

covered with little hillocks, about ſix or ſeven inches high, which the crayfiſh had made for taking the air out of the water; but ſince dikes have been raiſed for keeping off the river from the low grounds, they no longer ſhew themſelves. Whenever they are wanted, they fiſh for them with the leg of a frog, and in a few moments they will catch a large diſh of them.

The Shrimps are diminutive crayfiſh; they are uſually about three inches long, and of the ſize of the little finger. Although in other countries they are generally found in the ſea only, yet in Louiſiana you will meet with great numbers of them more than an hundred leagues up the river. In the lake St. Louis, about two leagues from New Orleans, the waters of which, having a communication with the ſea, are ſomewhat brackiſh, are found ſeveral ſorts both of ſea fiſh, and freſh water fiſh. As the bottom of the lake is very level, they fiſh in it with large nets lately brought from France.

Near the lake, when we paſs by the outlets to the ſea, and continue along the coaſts, we meet with ſmall oyſters in great abundance, that are very well taſted. On the other hand, when we quit the lake by another lake that communicates with one of the mouths of the river, we meet with oyſters four or five inches broad, and ſix or ſeven long. Theſe large oyſters eat beſt fried, having hardly any ſaltneſs, but in other reſpects are large and delicate.

Having ſpoken of the oyſters of Louiſiana, I ſhall take ſome notice of the oyſters that are found on the trees at St. Domingo. When I arrived at the harbour of Cape François in my way to Louiſiana, I was much ſurprized to ſee oyſters hanging to the branches of ſome ſhrubs; but M. Chaineau, who was our ſecond captain, explained the phænomenon to me. According to him, the twigs of the ſhrubs are bent down at high water, to the very bottom of the ſhore, whenever the ſea is any ways agitated.

The oyſters in that place no ſooner feel the twigs than they lay hold of them, and when the ſea retires they appear ſuſpended upon them.

Towards the mouths of the river we meet with muſſels no ſalter than the large oyſters above mentioned; and this is owing to the water being only brackiſh in thoſe parts, as the river there empties itſelf by three large mouths, and five other ſmall ones, beſides ſeveral ſhort creeks, which all together throw at once an immenſe quantity of water into the ſea; the whole marſhy ground occupies an extent of ten or twelve leagues.

There are likewiſe excellent muſſels upon the northern ſhore of the lake St. Louis, eſpecially in the river of Pearls; they may be about ſix or ſeven inches long, and ſometimes contain pretty large pearls, but of no great value.

The largeſt of the ſhell-fiſh on the coaſt is the Burgo, well known in France. There is another fiſh much ſmaller and of a different ſhape. Its hollow ſhell is ſtrong and beautiful, and the flat one is generally black; ſome blue ones are found, and are much eſteemed. Theſe ſhells have long been in requeſt for tobacco-boxes.

THE HISTORY OF LOUISIANA.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The Origin of the Americans.

THE remarkable difference I obſerved between the Natchez, including in that name the nations whom they treat as brethren, and the other people of Louiſiana, made me extremely deſirous to know whence both of them might originally come. We had not then that full information which we have ſince received from the voyages and diſcoveries of M. De Liſle in the eaſtern parts of the Ruſſian empire. I therefore applied myſelf one day to put the keeper of the temple in good humour, and having ſucceeded in that without much difficulty, I then told him, that from the little reſemblance I obſerved between the Natchez and the neighbouring nations, I was inclined to believe that they were not originally of the country which they then inhabited; and that if the ancient ſpeech taught him any thing on that ſubject, he would do me a great pleaſure to inform me of it. At

theſe words he leaned his head on his two hands, with which he covered his eyes, and having remained in that poſture about a quarter of an hour, as if to recollect himſelf, he anſwered to the following effect:

"Before we came into this land we lived yonder under the ſun, (pointing with his finger nearly ſouth-weſt, by which I underſtood that he meant Mexico;) we lived in a fine country where the earth is always pleaſant; there our Suns had their abode, and our nation maintained itſelf for a long time againſt the ancients of the country, who conquered ſome of our villages in the plains, but never could force us from the mountains. Our nation extended itſelf along the great water where this large river loſes itſelf; but as our enemies were become very numerous, and very wicked, our Suns ſent ſome of their ſubjects who lived near this river, to examine whether we could retire into the country through which it flowed. The country on the eaſt ſide of the river being found extremely pleaſant, the Great Sun, upon the return of thoſe who had examined it, ordered all his ſubjects who lived in the plains, and who ſtill defended themſelves againſt the antients of the country, to remove into this land, here to build a temple, and to preſerve the eternal fire.

"A great part of our nation accordingly ſettled here, where they lived in peace and abundance for ſeveral generations. The Great Sun, and thoſe who had remained with him, never thought of joining us, being tempted to continue where they were by the pleaſantneſs of the country, which was very warm, and by the weakneſs of their enemies, who had fallen into civil diſſentions, in conſequence of the ambition of one of their chiefs, who wanted to raiſe himſelf from a ſtate of equality with the other chiefs of the villages, and to treat all the people of his nation as ſlaves. During thoſe diſcords among our enemies, ſome of them even entered into an alliance with the Great Sun, who ſtill remained in our old country, that he might conve-

conveniently aſſiſt our other brethren who had ſettled on the banks of the Great Water to the eaſt of the large river, and extended themſelves ſo far on the coaſt and among the iſles, that the Great Sun did not hear of them ſometimes for five or ſix years together.

" It was not till after many generations that the Great Suns came and joined us in this country, where, from the fine climate, and the peace we had enjoyed, we had multiplied like the leaves of the trees. Warriors of fire, who made the earth to tremble, had arrived in our old country, and having entered into an alliance with our brethren, conquered our ancient enemies; but attempting afterwards to make ſlaves of our Suns, they, rather than ſubmit to them, left our brethren who refuſed to follow them, and came hither attended only with their ſlaves."

Upon my aſking him who thoſe warriors of fire were, he replied, that they were bearded white men, ſomewhat of a browniſh colour, who carried arms that darted out fire with a great noiſe, and killed at a great diſtance; that they had likewiſe heavy arms which killed a great many men at once, and like thunder made the earth tremble; and that they came from the ſun-riſing in floating villages.

The antients of the country he ſaid were very numerous, and inhabited from the weſtern coaſt of the great water to the northern countries on this ſide the ſun, and very far upon the ſame coaſt beyond the ſun. They had a great number of large and ſmall villages, which were all built of ſtone, and in which there were houſes large enough to lodge a whole village. Their temples were built with great labour and art, and they made beautiful works of all kinds of materials.

But ye yourſelves, ſaid I, whence are ye come? The ancient ſpeech, he replied, does not ſay from what land we came; all that we know is, that our fathers, to come hither, followed the ſun, and came with him from the place where he riſes; that they were a long time on their

journey, were, all on the point of periſhing, and were brought into this country without ſeeking it.

To this account of the keeper of the temple, which was afterwards confirmed to me by the Great Sun, I ſhall add the following paſſage of Diodorus Siculus, which ſeems to confirm the opinion of thoſe who think the eaſtern Americans are deſcended from the Europeans, who may have been driven by the winds upon the coaſts of Guiana or Braſil.

" To the weſt of Africa, he ſays, lies a very large iſland, diſtant many days ſail from that part of our continent. Its fertile ſoil is partly plain, and partly mountainous. The plain country is moſt ſweet and pleaſant, being watered every where with rivulets, and navigable rivers; it is beautified with many gardens, which are planted with all kinds of trees, and the orchards particularly are watered with pleaſant ſtreams. The villages are adorned with houſes built in a magnificent taſte, having parterres ornamented with arbours covered with flowers. Hither the inhabitants retire during the ſummer to enjoy the fruits which the country furniſhes them with in the greateſt abundance. The mountainous part is covered with large woods, and all manner of fruit trees, and in the vallies, which are watered with rivulets, the inhabitants meet with every thing that can render life agreeable. In a word, the whole iſland, by its fertility and the abundance of its ſprings, furniſhes the inhabitants not only with every thing that may flatter their wiſhes, but with what may alſo contribute to their health and ſtrength of body. Hunting furniſhes them with ſuch an infinite number of animals, that in their feaſts they have nothing to wiſh for in regard either to plenty or delicacy. Beſides, the ſea, which ſurrounds the iſland, ſupplies them plentifully with all kinds of fiſh, and indeed the ſea in general is very abundant. The air of this iſland is ſo temperate that the trees bear leaves and fruit almoſt the whole

whole year round. In a word, this iſland is ſo delicious, that it ſeems rather the abode of the gods than of men.

" Anciently, on account of its remote ſituation, it was altogether unknown; but afterwards it was diſcovered by accident. It is well known, that from the earlieſt ages the Phenicians undertook long voyages in order to extend their commerce, and in conſequence of thoſe voyages eſtabliſhed ſeveral colonies in Africa and the weſtern parts of Europe. Every thing ſucceeding to their wiſh, and being become very powerful, they attempted to paſs the pillars of Hercules and enter the ocean. They accordingly paſſed thoſe pillars, and in their neighbourhood built a city upon a peninſula of Spain, which they named Gades. There, amongſt the other buildings proper for the place, they built a temple to Hercules, to whom they inſtituted ſplendid ſacrifices after the manner of their country. This temple is in great veneration at this day, and ſeveral Romans who have rendered themſelves illuſtrious by their exploits, have performed their vows to Hercules for the ſucceſs of their enterprizes.

" The Phenicians accordingly having paſſed the Streights of Spain, ſailed along Africa, when by the violence of the winds they were driven far out to ſea, and the ſtorm continuing ſeveral days, they were at length thrown on this iſland. Being the firſt who were acquainted with its beauty and fertility, they publiſhed them to other nations. The Tuſcans, when they were maſters at ſea, deſigned to ſend a colony thither, but the Carthaginians found means to prevent them on the two following accounts; firſt, they were afraid leſt their citizens, tempted by the charms of that iſland, ſhould paſs over thither in too great numbers, and deſert their own country; next they looked upon it as a ſecure aſylum for themſelves, if ever any terrible diſaſter ſhould befal their republic."

This deſcription of Diodorus is very applicable in many circumſtances to America, particularly in the agreeable

temperature of the climate to Africans, the prodigious fertility of the earth, the vaſt foreſts, the large rivers, and the multitude of rivulets and ſprings. The Natchez may then juſtly be ſuppoſed to be deſcended from ſome Phenicians or Carthaginians, who had been wrecked on the ſhores of South America, in which caſe they might well be imagined to have but little acquaintance with the arts, as thoſe who firſt landed would be obliged to apply all their thoughts to their immediate ſubſiſtence, and conſequently would ſoon become rude and barbarous. Their worſhip of the eternal fire likewiſe implies their deſcent from the Phenicians; for every body knows that this ſuperſtition, which firſt took its riſe in Egypt, was introduced by the Phenicians into all the countries that they viſited. The figurative ſtile, and the bold and Syriac expreſſions in the language of the Natchez, is likewiſe another proof of their being deſcended from the Phenicians *.

As to thoſe whom the Natchez, long after their firſt eſtabliſhment, found inhabiting the weſtern coaſts of America, and whom we name Mexicans, the arts which they poſſeſſed and cultivated with ſucceſs, obliged me to give them a different origin. Their temples, their ſacrifices, their buildings, their form of government, and their manner of making war, all denote a people who have tranſmigrated in a body, and brought with them the arts, the ſciences, and the cuſtoms of their country. Thoſe people had the art of writing, and alſo of painting. Their archives conſiſted of cloths of cotton, whereon they had painted or drawn all thoſe tranſactions which they thought worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity. It were greatly to be wiſhed that the firſt conquerors of this new world had preſerved to us the figures of thoſe drawings; for by comparing them with the characters uſed by other

* The author might have mentioned a ſingular cuſtom, in which both nations agree; for it appears from *Polybius*, l. 1. c. 6. that the Carthaginians practiſed ſcalping.

other nations, we might perhaps have diſcovered the origin of the inhabitants. The knowledge which we have of the Chineſe characters, which are rather irregular drawings than characters, would probably have facilitated ſuch a diſcovery; and perhaps thoſe of Japan would have been found greatly to have reſembled the Mexican; for I am ſtrongly of opinion that the Mexicans are deſcended from one of thoſe two nations.

In fact, where is the impoſſibility, that ſome prince in one of thoſe countries, upon failing in an attempt to raiſe himſelf to the ſovereign power, ſhould leave his native country with all his partizans, and look for ſome new land, where, after he had eſtabliſhed himſelf, he might drop all foreign correſpondence? The eaſy navigation of the South-Sea renders the thing probable; and the new map of the eaſtern bounds of Aſia, and the weſtern of North America, lately publiſhed by Mr. De Liſle, makes it ſtill more likely. This map makes it plainly appear, that between the iſlands of Japan, or northern coaſts of China, and thoſe of America, there are other lands, which to this day have remained unknown; and who will take upon him to ſay there is no land, becauſe it has never yet been diſcovered? I have therefore good grounds to believe, that the Mexicans came originally from China or Japan, eſpecially when I conſider their reſerved and uncommunicative diſpoſition, which to this day prevails among the people of the eaſtern parts of Aſia. The great antiquity of the Chineſe nation likewiſe makes it poſſible that a colony might have gone from thence to America early enough to be looked upon as *the Ancients of the country*, by the firſt of the Phenicians who could be ſuppoſed to arrive there. As a further corroboration of my conjectures, I was informed by a man of learning in 1752, that in the king's library there is a Chineſe manuſcript, which poſitively affirms that America was peopled by the inhabitants of Corea.

When

When the Natchez retired to this part of America, where I ſaw them, they there found ſeveral nations, or rather the remains of ſeveral nations, ſome on the eaſt, others on the weſt of the Miſſiſippi. Theſe are the people who are diſtinguiſhed among the natives by the name of Red Men; and their origin is ſo much the more obſcure, as they have not ſo diſtinct a tradition, as the Natchez, nor arts and ſciences like the Mexicans, from whence we might draw ſome ſatisfactory inferences. All that I could learn from them was, that they came from between the north and the ſun-ſetting; and this account they uniformly adhered to whenever they gave any account of their origin. This lame tradition no ways ſatisfying the deſire I had to be informed on this point, I made great inquiries to know if there was any wiſe old man among the neighbouring nations, who could give me further intelligence about the origin of the natives. I was happy enough to diſcover one, named Moncacht-apé among the Yazous, a nation about forty leagues north from the Natchez. This man was remarkable for his ſolid underſtanding and elevation of ſentiments; and I may juſtly compare him to thoſe firſt Greeks, who travelled chiefly into the eaſt to examine the manners and cuſtoms of different nations, and to communicate to their fellow-citizens, upon their return, the knowledge which they had acquired. Moncacht-apé, indeed, never executed ſo noble a plan; but he had however conceived it, and had ſpared no labour and pains to effectuate it. He was by the French called the Interpreter, becauſe he underſtood ſeveral of the North American languages; but the other name which I have mentioned was given him by his own nation, and ſignifies *the killer of pain and fatigue*. This name was indeed moſt juſtly applicable to him; for, to ſatisfy his curioſity, he had made light of the moſt dangerous and painful journeys, in which he had ſpent ſeveral years of his life. He ſtayed two or three days with me; and upon my deſiring him to give me an

account of his travels, he very readily complied with my requeſt, and ſpoke to the following effect:

"I had loſt my wife, and all the children whom I had by her, when I undertook my journey towards the ſun-riſing. I ſet out from my village contrary to the inclination of all my relations, and went firſt to the Chicaſaws, our friends and neighbours. I continued among them ſeveral days to inform myſelf whether they knew whence we all came, or at leaſt whence they themſelves came; they, who were our elders; ſince from them came the language of the country. As they could not inform me, I proceeded on my journey. I reached the country of the Chaouanous, and afterwards went up the Wabaſh or Ohio, almoſt to its ſource, which is in the country of the Iroquois or Five Nations. I left them however towards the north; and during the winter, which in that country is very ſevere and very long, I lived in a village of the Abenaquis, where I contracted an acquaintance with a man ſomewhat older than myſelf, who promiſed to conduct me the following ſpring to the Great Water. Accordingly when the ſnows were melted, and the weather was ſettled, we proceeded eaſtward, and, after ſeveral days journey, I at length ſaw the Great Water, which filled me with ſuch joy and admiration that I could not ſpeak. Night drawing on, we took up our lodging on a high bank above the water, which was ſorely vexed by the wind, and made ſo great a noiſe that I could not ſleep. Next day the ebbing and flowing of the water filled me with great apprehenſion; but my companion quieted my fears, by aſſuring me that the water obſerved certain bounds both in advancing and retiring. Having ſatisfied our curioſity in viewing the Great Water, we returned to the village of the Abenaquis, where I continued the following winter; and after the ſnows were melted, my companion and I went and viewed the great fall of the river St. Laurence at Niagara, which was diſtant from the village ſeveral days journey. The view of this great fall at firſt made my

my hair ſtand on end, and my heart almoſt leap out of its place; but afterwards, before I left it, I had the courage to walk under it. Next day we took the ſhorteſt road to the Ohio, and my companion and I cutting down a tree on the banks of the river, we formed it into a pettiaugre, which ſerved to conduct me down the Ohio and the Miſſiſippi, after which, with much difficulty, I went up our ſmall river; and at length arrived ſafe among my relations, who were rejoiced to ſee me in good health.

"This journey, inſtead of ſatisfying, only ſerved to excite my curioſity. Our old men, for ſeveral years, had told me that the antient ſpeech informed them that the Red Men of the north came originally much higher and much farther than the ſource of the river Miſſouri; and as I had longed to ſee, with my own eyes, the land from whence our firſt fathers came, I took my precautions for my journey weſtwards. Having provided a ſmall quantity of corn, I proceeded up along the eaſtern bank of the river Miſſiſippi, till I came to the Ohio. I went up along the bank of this laſt river about the fourth part of a day's journey, that I might be able to croſs it without being carried into the Miſſiſippi. There I formed a Cajeux or raft of canes, by the aſſiſtance of which I paſſed over the river; and next day meeting with a herd of buffaloes in the meadows, I killed a fat one, and took from it the fillets, the bunch, and the tongue. Soon after I arrived among the Tamaroas, a village of the nation of the Illinois, where I reſted ſeveral days, and then proceeded northwards to the mouth of the Miſſouri, which, after it enters the great river, runs for a conſiderable time without intermixing its muddy waters with the clear ſtream of the other. Having croſſed the Miſſiſippi, I went up the Miſſouri along its northern bank, and after ſeveral days journey I arrived at the nation of the Miſſouris, where I ſtaid a long time to learn the language that is ſpoken beyond them. In going along the Miſſouri I paſſed through meadows

dows a whole day's journey in length, which were quite covered with buffaloes.

" When the cold was paſt, and the ſnows were melted, I continued my journey up along the Miſſouri till I came to the nation of the Weſt, or the Canzas. Afterwards, in conſequence of directions from them, I proceeded in the ſame courſe near thirty days, and at length I met with ſome of the nation of the Otters, who were hunting in that neighbourhood, and were ſurpriſed to ſee me alone. I continued with the hunters two or three days, and then accompanied one of them and his wife, who was near her time of lying-in, to their village, which lay far off betwixt the north and weſt. We continued our journey along the Miſſouri for nine days, and then we marched directly northwards for five days more, when we came to the Fine River, which runs weſtwards in a direction contrary to that of the Miſſouri. We proceeded down this river a whole day, and then arrived at the village of the Otters, who received me with as much kindneſs as if I had been of their own nation. A few days after I joined a party of the Otters, who were going to carry a calumet of peace to a nation beyond them, and we embarked in a pettiaugre, and went down the river for eighteen days, landing now and then to ſupply ourſelves with proviſions. When I arrived at the nation who were at peace with the Otters, I ſtaid with them till the cold was paſſed, that I might learn their language, which was common to moſt of the nations that lived beyond them.

" The cold was hardly gone, when I again embarked on the Fine River, and in my courſe I met with ſeveral nations, with whom I generally ſtaid but one night, till I arrived at the nation that is but one day's journey from the Great Water on the weſt. This nation live in the woods about the diſtance of a league from the river, from their apprehenſion of bearded men, who come upon their coaſts in floating villages, and carry off their children to make

make ſlaves of them. Theſe men were deſcribed to be white, with long black beards that came down to their breaſts; they were thick and ſhort, had large heads, which were covered with cloth; they were always dreſſed, even in the greateſt heats; their cloaths fell down to the middle of their legs, which with their feet were covered with red or yellow ſtuff. Their arms made a great fire and a great noiſe; and when they ſaw themſelves outnumbered by Red Men, they retired on board their large pettiaugre, their number ſometimes amounting to thirty, but never more.

"Thoſe ſtrangers came from the ſun-ſetting, in ſearch of a yellow ſtinking wood, which dyes a fine yellow colour; but the people of this nation, that they might not be tempted to viſit them, had deſtroyed all thoſe kind of trees. Two other nations in their neighbourhood however, having no other wood, could not deſtroy the trees, and were ſtill viſited by the ſtrangers; and being greatly incommoded by them, had invited their allies to aſſiſt them in making an attack upon them the next time they ſhould return. The following ſummer I accordingly joined in this expedition, and after travelling five long days journey, we came to the place where the bearded men uſually landed, where we waited ſeventeen days for their arrival. The Red Men, by my advice, placed themſelves in ambuſcade to ſurprize the ſtrangers, and accordingly when they landed to cut the wood, we were ſo ſucceſsful as to kill eleven of them, the reſt immediately eſcaping on board two large pettiaugres, and flying weſtward upon the Great Water.

"Upon examining thoſe whom we had killed, we found them much ſmaller than ourſelves, and very white; they had a large head, and in the middle of the crown the hair was very long; their head was wrapt in a great many folds of ſtuff, and their cloaths ſeemed to be made neither of wool nor ſilk; they were very ſoft, and of different colours.

colours. Two only of the eleven who were ſlain had fire-arms with powder and ball. I tried their pieces, and found that they were much heavier than yours, and did not kill at ſo great a diſtance.

" After this expedition I thought of nothing but proceeding on my journey, and with that deſign I let the Red Men return home, and joined myſelf to thoſe who inhabited more weſtward on the coaſt, with whom I travelled along the ſhore of the Great Water, which bends directly betwixt the north and the ſun-ſetting. When I arrived at the villages of my fellow-travellers, where I found the days very long and the nights very ſhort, I was adviſed by the old men to give over all thoughts of continuing my journey. They told me that the land extended ſtill a long way in a direction between the north and ſun-ſetting, after which it ran directly weſt, and at length was cut by the Great Water from north to ſouth. One of them added, that when he was young, he knew a very old man who had ſeen that diſtant land before it was eat away by the Great Water, and that when the Great Water was low, many rocks ſtill appeared in thoſe parts. Finding it therefore impracticable to proceed much further, on account of the ſeverity of the climate, and the want of game, I returned by the ſame route by which I had ſet out; and reducing my whole travels weſtward to days journeys, I compute that they would have employed me thirty-ſix moons; but on account of my frequent delays, it was five years before I returned to my relations among the Yazous."

Moncacht-apé, after giving me an account of his travels, ſpent four or five days viſiting among the Natchez, and then returned to take leave of me, when I made him a preſent of ſeveral wares of no great value, among which was a concave mirror about two inches and a half diameter, which had coſt me about three halfpence. As this magnified the face to four or five times its natural ſize, he

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was wonderfully delighted with it, and would not have exchanged it with the beſt mirror in France. After expreſſing his regret at parting with me, he returned highly ſatisfied to his own nation.

Moncacht-apé's account of the junction of America with the eaſtern parts of Aſia ſeems confirmed from the following remarkable fact. Some years ago the ſkeletons of two large elephants and two ſmall ones were diſcovered in a marſh near the river Ohio; and as they were not much conſumed, it is ſuppoſed that the elephants came from Aſia not many years before. If we alſo conſider the form of government, and the manner of living among the northern nations of America, there will appear a great reſemblance betwixt them and the Tartars in the north-eaſt parts of Aſia.

CHAP. II.

An Account of the ſeveral Nations of Indians *in* Louiſiana.

SECT. I.

Of the Nations inhabiting on the Eaſt of the Miſſiſippi.

IF to the hiſtory of the diſcoveries and conqueſts of the Spaniards we join the tradition of all the nations of America, we ſhall be fully perſuaded, that this quarter of the world, before it was diſcovered by Chriſtopher Columbus, was very populous, not only on the continent, but alſo in the iſlands.

However, by an incomprehenſible fatality, the arrival of the Spaniards in this new world ſeems to have been the unhappy epoch of the deſtruction of all the nations of America, not only by war, but by nature itſelf. As it is but too well known how many millions of natives were deſtroyed by the Spaniſh ſword, I ſhall not therefore preſent

ſent my readers with that horrible detail; but perhaps many people do not know that an innumerable multitude of the natives of Mexico and Peru voluntarily put an end to their own lives, ſome by ſacrificing themſelves to the manes of their ſovereigns who had been cut off, and whoſe born victims they, according to their deteſtable cuſtoms, looked upon themſelves to be; and others, to avoid falling under the ſubjection of the Spaniards, thinking death a leſs evil by far than ſlavery.

The ſame effect has been produced among the people of North America by two or three warlike nations of the natives. The Chicaſaws have not only cut off a great many nations who were adjoining to them, but have even carried their fury as far as New Mexico, near ſix hundred miles from the place of their reſidence, to root out a nation that had removed at that diſtance from them, in a firm expectation that their enemies would not come ſo far in ſearch of them. They were however deceived and cut off. The Iroquois have done the ſame in the eaſt parts of Louiſiana; and the Padoucas and others have acted in the ſame manner to the nations in the weſt of the colony. We may here obſerve, that thoſe nations could not ſucceed againſt their enemies without conſiderable loſs to themſelves, and that they have therefore greatly leſſened their own numbers by their many warlike expeditions.

I mentioned that nature had contributed no leſs than war to the deſtruction of theſe people. Two diſtempers, that are not very fatal in other parts of the world, make dreadful ravages among them; I mean the ſmall-pox and a cold, which baffle all the art of their phyſicians, who in other reſpects are very ſkilful. When a nation is attacked by the ſmall-pox, it quickly makes great havock; for as a whole family is crowded into a ſmall hut, which has no communication with the external air, but by a door about two feet wide and four feet high, the diſtemper, if it ſeizes one, is quickly communicated to all. The aged die in

conſequence of their advanced years and the bad quality of their food; and the young, if they are not ſtrictly watched, deſtroy themſelves, from an abhorrence of the blotches in their ſkin. If they can but eſcape from their hut, they run out and bathe themſelves in the river, which is certain death in that diſtemper. The Chatkas, being naturally not very handſome, are not ſo apt to regret the loſs of their beauty; conſequently ſuffer leſs, and are much more numerous than the other nations.

Colds, which are very common in the winter, likewiſe deſtroy great numbers of the natives. In that ſeaſon they keep fires in their huts day and night; and as there is no other opening but the door, the air within the hut is kept exceſſive warm without any free circulation; ſo that when they have occaſion to go out, the cold ſeizes them, and the conſequences of it are almoſt always fatal.

The firſt nations that the French were acquainted with in this part of North America, were thoſe on the eaſt of the colony; for the firſt ſettlement we made there was at Fort Louis on the river Mobile. I ſhall therefore begin my account of the different nations of Indians on this ſide of the colony, and proceed weſtwards in the ſame order as they are ſituated.

But however zealous I may be in diſplaying not only the beauties, but the riches and advantages of Louiſiana, yet I am not at all inclined to attribute to it what it does not poſſeſs; therefore I warn my reader not to be ſurpriſed, if I make mention of a few nations in this colony, in compariſon of the great number which he may perhaps have ſeen in the firſt maps of this country. Thoſe maps were made from memoirs ſent by different travellers, who noted down all the names they heard mentioned, and then fixed upon a ſpot for their reſidence; ſo that a map appeared ſtiled with the names of nations, many of whom were deſtroyed, and others were refugees among nations who had adopted them and taken them under their protection.

Thus,

Thus, though the nations on this continent were formerly both numerous and populous, they are now ſo thinned and diminiſhed, that there does not exiſt at preſent a third part of the nations whoſe names are to be found in the maps.

The moſt eaſtern nation of Louiſiana is that called the Apalaches, which is a branch of the great nation of the Apalaches, who inhabited near the mountains to which they have given their name. This great nation is divided into ſeveral branches, who take different names. The branch in the neighbourhood of the river Mobile is but inconſiderable, and part of it is Roman Catholic.

On the north of the Apalaches are the Alibamous, a pretty conſiderable nation; they love the French, and receive the Engliſh rather out of neceſſity than friendſhip. On the firſt ſettling of the colony we had ſome commerce with them; but ſince the main part of the colony has fixed on the river, we have ſomewhat neglected them, on account of the great diſtance.

Eaſt from the Alibamous are the Caouitas, whom M. de Biainville, governor of Louiſiana, wanted to diſtinguiſh above the other nations, by giving the title of emperor to their ſovereign, who then would have been chief of all the neighbouring nations; but thoſe nations refuſed to acknowledge him as ſuch, and ſaid that it was enough if each nation obeyed its own chief; that it was improper for the chiefs themſelves to be ſubject to other chiefs, and that ſuch a cuſtom had never prevailed among them, as they choſe rather to be deſtroyed by a great nation than to be ſubject to them. This nation is one of the moſt conſiderable; the Engliſh trade with them, and they ſuffer the traders to come among them from policy.

To the north of the Alibamous are the Abeikas and Conchacs, who, as far as I can learn, are the ſame people; yet the name of Conchac ſeems appropriated to one part more than another. They are ſituated at a diſtance

from the great rivers, and conſequently have no large canes in their territory. The canes that grow among them are not thicker than one's finger, and are at the ſame time ſo very hard, that when they are ſplit, they cut like knives, which theſe people call *conchacs*. The language of this nation is almoſt the ſame with that of the Chicaſaws, in which the word *conchac* ſignifies a knife.

The Abeikas, on the eaſt of them, have the Cherokees, divided into ſeveral branches, and ſituated very near the Apalachean mountains. All the nations whom I have mentioned have been united in a general alliance for a long time paſt, in order to defend themſelves againſt the Iroquois, or Five Nations, who, before this alliance was formed, made continual war upon them; but have ceaſed to moleſt them ſince they have ſeen them united. All theſe nations, and ſome ſmall ones intermixed among them, have always been looked upon as belonging to no colony, excepting the Apalaches; but ſince the breaking out of the war with the Engliſh in 1756, it is ſaid they have voluntarily declared for us.

The nations in the neighbourhood of the Mobile, are firſt the Chatots, a ſmall nation conſiſting of about forty huts, adjoining to the river and the ſea. They are Roman Catholics, or reputed ſuch; and are friends to the French, whom they are always ready to ſerve upon being paid for it. North from the Chatots, and very near them, is the French ſettlement of Fort Louis on the Mobile.

A little north from Fort Louis are ſituated the Thomez, which are not more numerous than the Chatots, and are ſaid to be Roman Catholics. They are our friends to ſuch a degree as even to teaze us with their officiouſneſs.

Further north live the Taenſas, who are a branch of the Natchez, of whom I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak more at large. Both of theſe nations keep the eternal fire with the utmoſt care; but they truſt the guard of it to men,

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from a perſuaſion that none of their daughters would ſacrifice their liberty for that office. The whole nation of the Taenſas conſiſts only of about one hundred huts.

Proceeding ſtill northwards along the bay, we meet with the nation of the Mobiliens, near the mouth of the river Mobile, in the bay of that name. The true name of this nation is Mouvill, which the French have turned into Mobile, calling the river and the bay from the nation that inhabited near them. All theſe ſmall nations were living in peace upon the arrival of the French, and ſtill continue ſo; the nations on the eaſt of the Mobile ſerving as a barrier to them againſt the incurſions of the Iroquois. Beſides, the Chicaſaws look upon them as their brethren, as both they, and their neighbours on the eaſt of the Mobile, ſpeak a language which is nearly the ſame with that of the Chicaſaws.

Returning towards the ſea, on the weſt of the Mobile, we find the ſmall nation of the Pacha-Ogoulas, that is, Nation of Bread, ſituated upon the bay of the ſame name. This nation conſiſts only of one village of about thirty huts. Some French Canadians have ſettled in their neighbourhood, and they live together like brethren, as the Canadians, who are naturally of a peaceable diſpoſition, know the character of the natives, and have the art of living with the nations of America. But what chiefly renders the harmony betwixt them durable, is the abſence of ſoldiers, who never appear in this nation.

Further northwards, near the river Pacha-Ogoulas, is ſituated the great nation of the Chatkas, or Flat-heads. I call them the great nation, for I have not known or heard of any other near ſo numerous. They reckon in this nation twenty-five thouſand warriors. There may perhaps be ſuch a number of men among them, who take that name; but I am far from thinking that all theſe have a title to the character of warriors.

According to the tradition of the natives, this nation arrived ſo ſuddenly, and paſſed ſo rapidly through the territories of others, that when I aſked them, whence came the Chatkas? they anſwered me, that they ſprung out of the ground; by which they meant to expreſs their great ſurprize at ſeeing them appear ſo ſuddenly. Their great numbers awed the natives near whom they paſſed; their character being but little inclined to war, did not inſpire them with the fury of conqueſts; thus they at length arrived in an uninhabited country which nobody diſputed with them. They have ſince lived without any diſputes with their neighbours; who on the other hand have never dared to try whether they were brave or not. It is doubtleſs owing to this that they have increaſed to their preſent numbers.

They are called Flat-heads; but I do not know why that name has been given to them more than to others, ſince all the nations of Louiſiana have their heads as flat, or nearly ſo. They are ſituated about two hundred and fifty miles north from the ſea, and extend more from eaſt to weſt than from ſouth to north.

Thoſe who travel from the Chatkas to the Chicaſaws, ſeldom go by the ſhorteſt road, which extends about one hundred and eighty miles, and is very woody and mountainous. They chooſe rather to go along the river Mobile, which is both the eaſieſt and moſt pleaſant route. The nation of the Chicaſaws is very warlike. The men have very regular features, are large, well-ſhaped, and neatly dreſſed; they are fierce, and have a high opinion of themſelves. They ſeem to be the remains of a populous nation, whoſe warlike diſpoſition had prompted them to invade ſeveral nations, whom they have indeed deſtroyed, but not without diminiſhing their own numbers by thoſe expeditions. What induces me to believe that this nation has been formerly very conſiderable, is that the nations who border upon them, and whom I have juſt mentioned,

ſpeak

ſpeak the Chicaſaw language, though ſomewhat corrupted, and thoſe who ſpeak it beſt value themſelves upon it.

I ought perhaps to except out of this number the Taenſas, who being a branch of the Natchez, have ſtill preſerved their peculiar language; but even theſe ſpeak, in general, the corrupted Chicaſaw language, which our French ſettlers call the Mobilian language. As to the Chatkas, I ſuppoſe, that being very numerous, they have been able to preſerve their own language in a great meaſure; and have only adopted ſome words of the Chicaſaw language. They always ſpoke to me in the Chicaſaw tongue.

In returning towards the coaſt next the river Miſſiſippi, we meet with a ſmall nation of about twenty huts, named Aquelou-Piſſas, that is, *Men who underſtand and ſee.* This nation formerly lived within three or four miles of the place where New Orleans is built; but they are further north at preſent, and not far from the lake St. Lewis, or Pontchartrain. They ſpeak a language ſomewhat approaching to that of the Chicaſaws. We have never had great dealings with them.

Being now arrived at the river Miſſiſippi, I ſhall proceed upwards along its banks as far as to the moſt diſtant nations that are known to us.

The firſt nation that I meet with is the Oumas, which ſignifies the Red Nation. They are ſituated about twenty leagues from New Orleans, where I ſaw ſome of them upon my arrival in this province. Upon the firſt eſtabliſhment of the colony, ſome French went and ſettled near them; and they have been very fatal neighbours, by furniſhing them with brandy, which they drink to great exceſs.

Croſſing the Red River, and proceeding ſtill upwards, we find the remains of the nation of the Tonicas, who

have always been very much attached to the French, and have even been our auxiliaries in war. The Chief of this nation was our very zealous friend; and as he was full of courage, and always ready to make war on the enemies of the French, the king ſent him a brevet of brigadier of the red armies, and a blue ribbon, from whence hung a ſilver medal, which on one ſide repreſented the marriage of the king, and on the reverſe had the city of Paris. He likewiſe ſent him a gold-headed cane; and the Indian Chief was not a little proud of wearing thoſe honourable diſtinctions, which were certainly well beſtowed. This nation ſpeaks a language ſo far different from that of their neighbours, in that they pronounce the letter R, which the others have not. They have likewiſe different cuſtoms.

The Natchez in former times appear to have been one of the moſt reſpectable nations in the colony, not only from their own tradition, but from that of the other nations, in whom their greatneſs and civilized cuſtoms raiſed no leſs jealouſy than admiration. I could fill a volume with what relates to this people alone; but as I am now giving a conciſe account of the people of Louiſiana, I ſhall ſpeak of them as of the reſt, only enlarging a little upon ſome important tranſactions concerning them.

When I arrived in 1720 among the Natchez, that nation was ſituated upon a ſmall river of the ſame name; the chief village where the Great Sun reſided was built along the banks of the river, and the other villages were planted round it. They were two leagues above the confluence of the river, which joins the Miſſiſippi at the foot of the great precipices of the Natchez. From thence are four leagues to its ſource, and as many to fort Roſalie, and they were ſituated within a league of the fort.

Two ſmall nations lived as refugees among the Natchez. The moſt ancient of theſe adopted nations were the Grigras,

gras, who ſeem to have received that name from the French, becauſe when talking with one another they often pronounce thoſe two ſyllables, which makes them be remarked as ſtrangers among the Natchez, who, as well as the Chicaſaws, and all the nations that ſpeak the Chicaſaw language, cannot pronounce the letter R.

The other ſmall nation adopted by the Natchez, are the Thioux, who have alſo the letter R in their language. Theſe were the weak remains of the Thioux nation, formerly one of the ſtrongeſt in the country. However, according to the account of the other nations, being of a turbulent diſpoſition, they drew upon themſelves the reſentment of the Chicaſaws, which was the occaſion of their ruin; for by their many engagements they were at length ſo weakened that they durſt not face their enemy, and conſequently were obliged to take refuge among the Natchez.

The Natchez, the Grigras, and the Thioux, may together raiſe about twelve hundred warriors; which is but a ſmall force in compariſon of what the Natchez could formerly have raiſed alone; for according to their traditions they were the moſt powerful nation of all North America, and were looked upon by the other nations as their ſuperiors, and on that account reſpected by them. To give an idea of their power, I ſhall only mention, that formerly they extended from the river Manchac, or Iberville, which is about fifty leagues from the ſea, to the river Wabaſh, which is diſtant from the ſea about four hundred and ſixty leagues; and that they had about five hundred Suns or princes. From theſe facts we may judge how populous this nation formerly has been; but the pride of their Great Suns, or ſovereigns, and likewiſe of their inferior Suns, joined to the prejudices of the people, has made greater havock among them, and contributed more to their deſtruction, than long and bloody wars would have done.

As

As their ſovereigns were deſpotic, they had for a long time paſt eſtabliſhed the following inhuman and impolitic cuſtom, that when any of them died, a great number of their ſubjects, both men and women, ſhould likewiſe be put to death. A proportionable number of ſubjects were likewiſe killed upon the death of any of the inferior Suns; and the people on the other hand had imbibed a belief that all thoſe who followed their princes into the other world, to ſerve them there, would be eternally happy. It is eaſy to conceive how ruinous ſuch an inhuman cuſtom would be among a nation who had ſo many princes as the Natchez.

It would ſeem that ſome of the Suns, more humane than the reſt, had diſapproved of this barbarous cuſtom, and had therefore retired to places at a remote diſtance from the centre of their nation. For we have two branches of this great nation ſettled in other parts of the colony, who have preſerved the greateſt part of the cuſtoms of the Natchez. One of theſe branches is the nation of the Taenſas on the banks of the Mobile, who preſerve the eternal fire, and ſeveral other uſages of the nation from whom they are deſcended. The other branch is the nation of the Chitimachas, whom the Natchez have always looked upon as their brethren.

Forty leagues north from the Natchez is the river Yaſous, which runs into the Miſſiſippi, and is ſo called from a nation of the ſame name who had about a hundred huts on its banks.

Near the Yazous, on the ſame river, lived the Coroas, a nation conſiſting of about forty huts. Theſe two nations pronounce the letter R.

Upon the ſame river likewiſe lived the Chacchi-Oumas, a name which ſignifies *red Cray-fiſh*. Theſe people had not above fifty huts.

Near

Near the ſame river dwelt the Ouſe-Ogoulas, or the Nation of the Dog, which might have about ſixty huts.

The Tapouſſas likewiſe inhabited upon the banks of this river, and had not above twenty-five huts. Theſe three laſt nations do not pronounce the letter R, and ſeem to be branches of the Chicaſaws, eſpecially as they ſpeak their language. Since the maſſacre of the French ſettlers at the Natchez, theſe five ſmall nations, who had joined in the conſpiracy againſt us, have all retired among the Chicaſaws, and make now but one nation with them.

To the north of the Ohio, not far from the banks of the Miſſiſippi, inhabit the Illinois, who have given their name to the river on the banks of which they have ſettled. They are divided into ſeveral villages, ſuch as the Tamaroas, the Caſkaquias, the Caouquias, the Pimiteouis, and ſome others. Near the village of the Tamaroas is a French poſt, where ſeveral French Canadians have ſettled.

This is one of the moſt conſiderable poſts in all Louiſiana, which will appear not at all ſurpriſing, when we conſider that the Illinois were one of the firſt nations whom we diſcovered in the colony, and that they have always remained moſt faithful allies of the French; an advantage which is in a great meaſure owing to the proper manner of living with the natives of America, which the Canadians have always obſerved. It is not their want of courage that renders them ſo peaceable, for their valour is well known. The letter R is pronounced by the Illinois.

Proceeding further northwards we meet with a pretty large nation, known by the name of the Foxes, with whom we have been at war near theſe forty years paſt, yet I have not heard that we have had any blows with them for a long time.

From

From the Foxes to the Fall of St. Anthony, we meet with no nation, nor any above the Fall for near an hundred leagues. About that diſtance north of the Fall, the Sioux are ſettled, and are ſaid to inhabit ſeveral ſcattered villages both on the eaſt and weſt of the Miſſiſippi.

SECT. II.

Of the Nations inhabiting on the Weſt of the Miſſiſippi.

HAVING deſcribed as exactly as poſſible all the nations on the eaſt of the Miſſiſippi, as well thoſe who are included within the bounds of the colony, as thoſe who are adjoining to it, and have ſome connection with the others; I ſhall now proceed to give an account of thoſe who inhabit on the weſt of the river, from the ſea northwards.

Between the river Miſſiſippi, and thoſe lakes which are filled by its waters upon their overflowing, is a ſmall nation named Chaouchas, or Ouachas, who inhabit ſome little villages, but are of ſo little conſequence that they are no otherwiſe known to our coloniſts but by their name.

In the neighbourhood of the lakes abovementioned live the Chitimachas. Theſe are the remains of a nation which was formerly pretty conſiderable; but we have deſtroyed part of them by exciting our allies to attack them. I have already obſerved that they were a branch of the Natchez, and upon my firſt ſettling among theſe, I found ſeveral Chitimachas, who had taken refuge among them to avoid the calamities of the war which had been made upon them near the lakes.

Since the peace that was concluded with them in 1719, they have not only remained quiet, but kept themſelves ſo prudently retired, that, rather than have any intercourſe with the French, or traffic with them for what they look upon

upon as ſuperfluities, they chooſe to live in the manner they did an hundred years ago.

Along the weſt coaſt, not far from the ſea, inhabit the nation named Ataçapas, that is, Man-eaters, being ſo called by the other nations on account of their deteſtable cuſtom of eating their enemies, or ſuch as they believe to be their enemies. In this vaſt country there are no other cannibals to be met with beſides the Atacapas; and ſince the French have gone among them, they have raiſed in them ſo great an horror of that abominable practice of devouring creatures of their own ſpecies, that they have promiſed to leave it off; and accordingly for a long time paſt we have heard of no ſuch barbarity among them.

The Bayouc-Ogoulas were formerly ſituated in the country that ſtill bears their name. This nation is now confounded with the others to whom it is joined.

The Oque-Louſſas are a ſmall nation ſituated north-weſt from the Cut Point. They live on the banks of two ſmall lakes, the waters of which appear black by reaſon of the great number of leaves which cover the bottom of them, and have given name to the nation, Oque-Louſſas in their language ſignifying Black Water.

From the Oque-Louſſas to the Red River, we meet with no other nation; but upon the banks of this river, a little above the Rapid, is ſeated the ſmall nation of the Avoyels. Theſe are the people who bring to our ſettlers horſes, oxen, and cows. I know not in what fair they buy them, nor with what money they pay for them; but the truth is, they ſell them to us for about ſeventeen ſhillings a-piece. The Spaniards of New-Spain have ſuch numbers of them that they do not know what to do with them, and are obliged to thoſe who will take them off their hands. At preſent the French have a greater number of them than they want, eſpecially of horſes.

About fifty leagues higher up the Red River, live the Nachitoches, near a French poſt of the ſame name. They

are

are a pretty conſiderable nation, having about two hundred huts. They have always been greatly attached to the French; but never were friends to the Spaniards. There are ſome branches of this nation ſituated further weſtward; but the huts are not numerous.

Three hundred miles weſt from the Miſſiſippi, upon the Red River, we find the great nation of the Cadodaquioux. It is divided into ſeveral branches which extend very widely. This people, as well as the Nachitoches, have a peculiar language; however, there is not a village in either of the nations, nor indeed in any nation of Louiſiana, where there are not ſome who can ſpeak the Chicaſaw language, which is called the vulgar tongue, and is the ſame here as the Lingua Franca is in the Levant.

Between the Red River and the Arkanſas there is at preſent no nation. Formerly the Ouachites lived upon the Black River, and gave their name to it; but at this time there are no remains of that nation; the Chicaſaws having deſtroyed great part of them, and the reſt took refuge among the Cadodaquioux, where their enemies durſt not moleſt them. The Taenſas lived formerly in this neighbourhood upon a river of their name; but they took refuge on the banks of the Mobile near the allies of the Chicaſaws, who leave them undiſturbed.

The nation of the Arkanſas have given their name to the river on which they are ſituated, about four leagues from its confluence with the Miſſiſippi. This nation is pretty conſiderable, and its men are no leſs diſtinguiſhed for being good hunters than ſtout warriors. The Chicaſaws, who are of a reſtleſs diſpoſition, have more than once wanted to make trial of the bravery of the Arkanſas; but they were oppoſed with ſuch firmneſs, that they have now laid aſide all thoughts of attacking them, eſpecially ſince they have been joined by the Kappas, the Michigamias, and a part of the Illinois, who have ſettled among them. Accordingly there is no longer any mention either

either of the Kappas or Michigamias, who are now all adopted by the Arkanſas.

The reader may have already obſerved in this account of the natives of Louiſiana, that ſeveral nations of thoſe people had joined themſelves to others, either becauſe they could no longer reſiſt their enemies, or becauſe they hoped to improve their condition by intermixing with another nation. I am glad to have this occaſion of obſerving that thoſe people reſpect the rights of hoſpitality, and that thoſe rights always prevail, notwithſtanding any ſuperiority that one nation may have over another with whom they are at war, or even over thoſe people among whom their enemies take refuge. For example, a nation of two thouſand warriors makes war upon, and violently purſues another nation of five hundred warriors, who retire among a nation in alliance with their enemies. If this laſt nation adopt the five hundred, the firſt nation, though two thouſand in number, immediately lay down their arms, and inſtead of continuing hoſtilities, reckon the adopted nation among the number of their allies.

Beſides the Arkanſas, ſome authors place other nations upon their river. I cannot take upon me to ſay that there never were any; but I can poſitively affirm, from my own obſervation upon the ſpot, that no other nation is to be met with at preſent on this river, or even as far as the Miſſouri.

Not far from the river Miſſouri is ſituated the nation of the Oſages, upon a ſmall river of the ſame name. This nation is ſaid to have been pretty conſiderable formerly, but at preſent they can neither be ſaid to be great nor ſmall.

The nation of the Miſſouris is very conſiderable, and has given its name to the large river that empties itſelf into the Miſſiſippi. It is the firſt nation we meet with from the confluence of the two rivers, and yet it is ſituated above forty leagues up the Miſſouri. The French had a ſettle-

ment pretty near this nation, at the time when M. de Bourgmont was commandant in thoſe parts; but ſoon after he left them, the inhabitants maſſacred the French garriſon.

The Spaniards, as well as our other neighbours, being continually jealous of our ſuperiority over them, formed a deſign of eſtabliſhing themſelves among the Miſſouris, about forty leagues from the Illinois, in order to limit our boundaries weſtward. They judged it neceſſary, for the ſecurity of their colony, entirely to cut off the Miſſouris, and for that purpoſe they courted the friendſhip of the Oſages, whoſe aſſiſtance they thought would be of ſervice to them in their enterprize, and who were generally at enmity with the Miſſouris. A company of Spaniards, men, women, and ſoldiers, accordingly ſet out from Santa Fe, having a Dominican for their chaplain, and an engineer for their guide and commander. The caravan was furniſhed with horſes, and all other kinds of beaſts neceſſary; for it is one of their prudent maxims, to ſend off all thoſe things together. By a fatal miſtake the Spaniards arrived firſt among the Miſſouris, whom they miſtook for the Oſages, and imprudently diſcovering their hoſtile intentions, they were themſelves ſurpriſed and cut off by thoſe whom they intended for deſtruction. The Miſſouris ſome time afterwards dreſſed themſelves with the ornaments of the chapel; and carried them in a kind of triumphant proceſſion to the French commandant among the Illinois. Along with the ornaments they brought a Spaniſh map, which ſeemed to me to be a better draught of the weſt part of our colony, towards them, than of the countries we are moſt concerned with. From this map it appears, that we ought to bend the Red River, and that of the Arkanſas, ſomewhat more, and place the ſource of the Miſſiſippi more weſterly than our geographers do.

The principal nations who inhabit upon the banks, or in the neighbourhood of the Miſſouri, are, beſides thoſe already mentioned, the Canzas, the Othoues, the White Panis, the Black Panis, the Panimachas, the Aiouez, and the Padoucas. The moſt numerous of all thoſe nations are the Padoucas, the ſmalleſt are the Aiouez, the Othoues, and the Oſages; the others are pretty conſiderable.

To the north of all thoſe nations, and near the river Miſſiſippi, it is pretended that a part of the nation of the Sioux have their reſidence. Some affirm that they inhabit now on one ſide of the river, now on another. From what I could learn from travellers, I am inclined to think, that they occupy at the ſame time both ſides of the Miſſiſippi, and their ſettlements, as I have elſewhere obſerved, are more than an hundred leagues above the Fall of St. Anthony. But we need not yet diſquiet ourſelves about the advantages which might reſult to us from thoſe very remote countries. Many ages muſt paſs before we can penetrate into the northern parts of Louiſiana.

CHAP. III.

A Deſcription of the natives of Louiſiana; *of their manners and cuſtoms, particularly thoſe of the* Natchez: *of their language, their religion, ceremonies,* Rulers *or* Suns, *feaſts, marriages,* &c.

SECT. I.

A deſcription of the natives; the different employments of the two ſexes; and their manner of bringing up their children.

IN the conciſe hiſtory which I have given of the people of Louiſiana, and in ſeveral other places where I have happened to mention them, the reader may have obſerved that theſe nations have not all the ſame character, altho' they live adjoining to each other. He therefore ought not to expect a perfect uniformity in their manners, or that I ſhould deſcribe all the different uſages that prevail in different parts, which would create a diſagreeable medley, and tend only to confound his ideas which cannot be too clear. My deſign is only to ſhew in general, from the character of thoſe people, what courſe we ought to obſerve, in order to draw advantage from our intercourſe with them. I ſhall however be more full in ſpeaking of the Natchez, a populous nation, among whom I lived the ſpace of eight years, and whoſe ſovereign, the chief of war, and the chief of the keepers of the temple, were among my moſt intimate friends. Beſides, their manners were more civilized, their manner of thinking more juſt and fuller of ſentiment, their cuſtoms more reaſonable, and their ceremonies more natural and ſerious; on all which accounts they were eminently diſtinguiſhed above the other nations.

All the natives of America in general are extremely well made; very few of them are to be ſeen under five feet and a half, and very many of them above that; their leg

leg ſeems as if it was faſhioned in a mould; it is nervous, and the calf is firm; they are long waiſted; their head is upright and ſomewhat flat in the upper part, and their features are regular; they have black eyes, and thick black hair without curls. If we ſee none that are extremely fat and purſy, neither do we meet with any that are ſo lean as if they were in a conſumption. The men in general are better made than the women; they are more nervous, and the women more plump and fleſhy; the men are almoſt all large, and the women of a middle ſize. I have always been inclined to think, that the care they take of their children in their infancy contributes greatly to their fine ſhapes, tho' the climate has alſo its ſhare in that, for the French born in Louiſiana are all large, well ſhaped, and of good fleſh and blood.

When any of the women of the natives is delivered, ſhe goes immediately to the water and waſhes herſelf and the infant; ſhe then comes home and lies down, after having diſpoſed her infant in the cradle, which is about two feet and a half long, nine inches broad, and half a foot deep, being formed of ſtraight pieces of cane bent up at one end, to ſerve for a foot or ſtay. Betwixt the canes and the infant is a kind of matraſs of the tufted herb called Spaniſh Beard, and under its head is a little ſkin cuſhion, ſtuffed with the ſame herb. The infant is laid on its back in the cradle, and faſtened to it by the ſhoulders, the arms, the legs, the thighs, and the hips; and over its forehead are laid two bands of deer-ſkin which keeps its head to the cuſhion, and renders that part flat. As the cradle does not weigh much above two pounds, it generally lies on the mother's bed, who ſuckles the infant occaſionally. The infant is rocked not ſide-ways but end-ways, and when it is a month old they put under its knees garters made of buffalo's wool which is very ſoft, and above the ankle bones they bind the legs with threads of the ſame wool for the breadth of three or four inches. And theſe ligatures the child wears till it be four or five years old.

The infants of the natives are white when they are born, but they ſoon turn brown, as they are rubbed with bear's oil and expoſed to the ſun. They rub them with oil, both to render their nerves more flexible, and alſo to prevent the flies from ſtinging them, as they ſuffer them to roll about naked upon all fours, before they are able to walk upright. They never put them upon their legs till they are a year old, and they ſuffer them to ſuck as long as they pleaſe, unleſs the mother prove with child, in which caſe ſhe ceaſes to ſuckle.

When the boys are about twelve years of age, they give them a bow and arrows proportioned to their ſtrength, and in order to exerciſe them they tie ſome hay, about twice as large as the fiſt, to the end of a pole about ten feet high. He who brings down the hay receives the prize from an old man who is always preſent: the beſt ſhooter is called the young warrior, the next beſt is called the apprentice warrior, and ſo on of the others, who are prompted to excel more by ſentiments of honour than by blows.

As they are threatened from their moſt tender infancy with the reſentment of the old man, if they are any ways refractory or do any miſchievous tricks, which is very rare, they fear and reſpect him above every one elſe. This old man is frequently the great-grandfather, or the great-great-grandfather of the family, for thoſe natives live to a very great age. I have ſeen ſome of them not able to walk, without having any other diſtemper or infirmity than old age, ſo that when the neceſſities of nature required it, or they wanted to take the air, they were obliged to be carried out of their hut, an aſſiſtance which is always readily offered to the old men. The reſpect paid to them by their family is ſo great, that they are looked upon as the judges of all differences, and their counſels are decrees. An old man who is the head of a family is called father, even by his grand-children, and great-grand-children, who to diſtinguiſh their immediate father call him their true father.

If

If any of their young people happen to fight, which I never ſaw nor heard of during the whole time I reſided in their neighbourhood, they threaten to put them in a hut at a great diſtance from their nation, as perſons unworthy to live among others; and this is repeated to them ſo often, that if they happen to have had a battle, they take care never to have another. I have already obſerved that I ſtudied them a conſiderable number of years; and I never could learn that there ever were any diſputes or boxing matches among either their boys or men.

As the children grow up, the fathers and mothers take care each to accuſtom thoſe of their own ſex to the labours and exerciſes ſuited to them, and they have no great trouble to keep them employed; but it muſt be confeſſed that the girls and the women work more than the men and the boys. Theſe laſt go a hunting and fiſhing, cut the wood, the ſmalleſt bits of which are carried home by the women; they clear the fields for corn, and hoe it; and on days when they cannot go abroad they amuſe themſelves with making, after their faſhion, pick-axes, oars, paddles, and other inſtruments, which once made laſt a long while. The women on the other hand have their children to bring up, have to pound the maiz for the ſubſiſtence of the family, have to keep up the fire, and to make a great many utenſils, which require a good deal of work, and laſt but a ſhort time, ſuch as their earthen ware, their matts, their clothes, and a thouſand other things of that kind.

When the children are about ten or twelve years of age they accuſtom them by degrees to carry ſmall loads, which they increaſe with their years. The boys are from time to time exerciſed in running; but they never ſuffer them to exhauſt themſelves by the length of the race, leſt they ſhould overheat themſelves. The more nimble at that exerciſe ſometimes ſportfully challenges thoſe who are more ſlow and heavy; but the old man who preſides hinders the raillery from being carried to any exceſs, care-

fully avoiding all ſubjects of quarrel and diſpute, on which account doubtleſs it is that they will never ſuffer them to wreſtle.

Both boys and girls are early accuſtomed to bathe every morning, in order to ſtrengthen the nerves, and harden them againſt cold and fatigue, and likewiſe to teach them to ſwim, that they may avoid or purſue an enemy, even acroſs a river. The boys and girls, from the time they are three years of age, are called out every morning by an old man, to go to the river; and here is ſome more employment for the mothers who accompany them thither to teach them to ſwim. Thoſe who can ſwim tolerably well, make a great noiſe in winter by beating the water in order to frighten away the crocodiles, and keep themſelves warm.

The reader will have obſerved that moſt of the labour and fatigue falls to the ſhare of the women; but I can declare that I never heard them complain of their fatigues, unleſs of the trouble their children gave them, which complaint aroſe as much from maternal affection, as from any attention that the children required. The girls from their infancy have it inſtilled into them, that if they are ſluttiſh or unhandy they will have none but a dull aukward fellow for their huſband; I obſerved in all the nations I viſited, that this threatning was never loſt upon the young girls.

I would not have it thought however, that the young men are altogether idle. Their occupations indeed are not of ſuch a long continuance; but they are much more laborious. As the men have occaſion for more ſtrength, reaſon requires that they ſhould not exhauſt themſelves in their youth; but at the ſame time they are not exempted from thoſe exerciſes that fit them for war and hunting. The children are educated without blows; and the body is left at full liberty to grow, and to form and ſtrengthen itſelf with their years. The youths accompany the men

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in hunting, in order to learn the wiles and tricks neceſſary to be practiſed in the field, and accuſtom themſelves to ſuffering and patience. When they are full grown men, they dreſs the field or waſte land, and prepare it to receive the ſeed; they go to war or hunting, dreſs the ſkins, cut the wood, make their bows and arrows, and aſſiſt each other in building their huts.

They have ſtill I allow a great deal of more ſpare time than the women; but this is not all thrown away. As theſe people have not the aſſiſtance of writing, they are obliged to have recourſe to tradition, in order to preſerve the remembrance of any remarkable tranſactions; and this tradition cannot be learned but by frequent repetitions, conſequently many of the youths are often employed in hearing the old men narrate the hiſtory of their anceſtors, which is thus tranſmitted from generation to generation. In order to preſerve their traditions pure and uncorrupt, they are careful not to deliver them indifferently to all their young people, but teach them only to thoſe young men of whom they have the beſt opinion.

SECT. II.

Of the language, government, religion, ceremonies, and feaſts of the natives.

DURING my reſidence among the Natchez I contracted an intimate friendſhip, not only with the chiefs or guardians of the temple, but with the Great Sun, or the ſovereign of the nation, and his brother the Stung Serpent, the chief of the warriors; and by my great intimacy with them, and the reſpect I acquired among the people, I eaſily learned the peculiar language of the nation.

This language is eaſy in the pronunciation, and expreſſive in the terms. The natives, like the Orientals,

ſpeak much in a figurative ſtile, the Natchez in particular more than any other people of Louiſiana. They have two languages, that of the nobles and that of the people, and both are very copious. I will give two or three examples to ſhew the difference of theſe two languages. When I call one of the common people, I ſay to him *aquenan*, that is, *hark ye:* if, on the other hand, I want to ſpeak to a Sun, or one of their nobles, I ſay to him, *magani*, which ſignifies, *hark ye*. If one of the common people call at my houſe, I ſay to him, *tachte-cabanacle*, *are you there*, or I am glad to ſee you, which is equivalent to our good-morrow. I expreſs the ſame thing to a Sun by the word *apapegouaiché*. Again, according to their cuſtom, I ſay to one of the common people, *petchi*, *ſit you down*; but to a Sun, when I deſire him to ſit down, I ſay, *caham*. The two languages are nearly the ſame in all other reſpects; for the difference of expreſſion ſeems only to take place in matters relating to the perſons of the Suns and nobles, in diſtinction from thoſe of the people.

Tho' the women ſpeak the ſame language with the men, yet, in their manner of pronunciation, they ſoften and ſmooth the words, whereas the ſpeech of the men is more grave and ſerious. The French, by chiefly frequenting the women, contracted their manner of ſpeaking, which was ridiculed as an effeminacy by the women, as well as the men, among the natives.

From my converſations with the chief of the guardians of the temple, I diſcovered that they acknowledged a ſupreme being, whom they called *Coyococop-Chill*, or *Great Spirit*. The *Spirit infinitely great*, or the *Spirit* by way of excellence. The word *chill*, in their language, ſignifies the moſt ſuperlative degree of perfection, and is added by them to the word which ſignifies *fire*, when they want to mention the Sun; thus *Oua* is *fire*, and *Oua-chill* is the *ſupreme fire*, or the *Sun*; therefore, by the word *Coyocop-*

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Chill they mean a ſpirit that ſurpaſſes other ſpirits as much as the ſun does common fire.

"God," according to the definition of the guardian of the temple, "was ſo great and powerful, that, in compariſon with him, all other things were as nothing; he had made all that we ſee, all that we can ſee, and all that we cannot ſee; he was ſo good, that he could not do ill to any one, even if he had a mind to it. They believe that God had made all things by his will; that nevertheleſs the little ſpirits, who are his ſervants, might, by his orders, have made many excellent works in the univerſe, which we admire; but that God himſelf had formed man with his own hands."

The guardian added, that they named thoſe little ſpirits, *Coyocop-techou*, that is, a *free ſervant*, but as ſubmiſſive and as reſpectful as a ſlave; that thoſe ſpirits were always preſent before God, ready to execute his pleaſure with an extreme diligence; that the air was filled with other ſpirits, ſome good ſome wicked; and that the latter had a chief, who was more wicked than them all; that God had found him ſo wicked, that he had bound him for ever, ſo that the other ſpirits of the air no longer did ſo much harm, eſpecially when they were by prayers entreated not to do it; for it is one of the religious cuſtoms of thoſe people to invoke the ſpirits of the air for rain or fine weather, according as each is needed. I have ſeen the Great Sun faſt for nine days together, eating nothing but maiz-corn, without meat or fiſh, drinking nothing but water, and abſtaining from the company of his wives during the whole time. He underwent this rigorous faſt out of complaiſance to ſome Frenchmen, who had been complaining that it had not rained for a long time. Thoſe inconſiderate people had not remarked, that notwithſtanding the want of rain, the fruits of the earth had not ſuffered, as the dew is ſo plentiful in ſummer as fully to ſupply that deficiency.

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The guardian of the temple having told me that God had made man with his own hands, I aſked him if he knew how that was done. He anſwered, "that God had kneaded ſome clay, ſuch as that which potters uſe, and had made it into a little man; and that after examining it, and finding it well formed, he blew up his work, and forthwith that little man had life, grew, acted, walked, and found himſelf a man perfectly well ſhaped." As he made no mention of the woman, I aſked him how he believed ſhe was made; he told me, "that probably in the ſame manner as the man; that their *antient ſpeech* made no mention of any difference, only told them that the man was made firſt, and was the ſtrongeſt and moſt courageous, becauſe he was to be the head and ſupport of the woman, who was made to be his companion."

Here I did not omit to rectify his notions on the ſubjects we had been talking about, and to give him thoſe juſt ideas which religion teaches us, and the ſacred writings have tranſmitted to us. He hearkened to me with great attention, and promiſed to repeat all that I had told him to the old men of his nation, who certainly would not forget it; adding, that we were very happy in being able to retain the knowledge of ſuch fine things by means of the ſpeaking cloth, ſo they name books and manuſcripts.

I next proceeded to aſk him, who had taught them to build a temple; whence had they their eternal fire, which they preſerved with ſo much care; and who was the perſon that firſt inſtituted their feaſts? He replied, "The charge I am entruſted with obliges me to know all theſe things you aſk of me; I will therefore ſatisfy you: hearken to me. A great number of years ago there appeared among us a man and his wife, who came down from the ſun. Not that we believe that the ſun had a wife who bore him children, or that theſe were the deſcendants of the ſun; but when they firſt appeared among us they were ſo bright and luminous that we had no difficulty to believe that they came down from the ſun. This man told us, that having ſeen from on high

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that we did not govern ourſelves well; that we had no maſter; that each of us had preſumption enough to think himſelf capable of governing others, while he could not even conduct himſelf; he had thought fit to come down among us to teach us to live better.

" He moreover told us, that in order to live in peace among ourſelves, and to pleaſe the ſupreme Spirit, we muſt indiſpenſably obſerve the following points; we muſt never kill any one but in defence of our own lives; we muſt never know any other woman beſides our own; we muſt never take any thing that belongs to another; we muſt never lye nor get drunk; we muſt not be avaricious, but muſt give liberally, and with joy, part of what we have to others who are in want, and generouſly ſhare our ſubſiſtence with thoſe who are in need of it."

" The words of this man deeply affected us, for he ſpoke them with authority, and he procured the reſpect even of the old men themſelves, tho' he reprehended them as freely as the reſt. Next day we offered to acknowledge him as our ſovereign. He at firſt refuſed, ſaying that he ſhould not be obeyed, and that the diſobedient would infallibly die; but at length he accepted the offer that was made him on the following condition:

" That we would go and inhabit another country, better than that in which we were, which he would ſhew us; that we would afterwards live conformable to the inſtructions he had given us; that we would promiſe never to acknowledge any other ſovereigns but him and his deſcendants; that the nobility ſhould be perpetuated by the women after this manner; if I, ſaid he, have male and female children, they being brothers and ſiſters cannot marry together; the eldeſt boy may chuſe a wife from among the people, but his ſons ſhall be only nobles; the children of the eldeſt girl, on the other hand, ſhall be princes and princeſſes, and her eldeſt ſon be ſovereign; but her eldeſt daughter be the mother of the next ſovereign, even tho' ſhe

ſhe ſhould marry one of the common people; and, in defect of the eldeſt daughter, the next female relation to the perſon reigning ſhall be the mother of the future ſovereign; the ſons of the ſovereign and princes ſhall loſe their rank, but the daughters ſhall preſerve theirs."

"He then told us, that in order to preſerve the excellent precepts he had given us, it was neceſſary to build a temple, into which it ſhould be lawful for none but the princes and princeſſes to enter, to ſpeak to the Spirit. That in the temple they ſhould eternally preſerve a fire, which he would bring down from the ſun, from whence he himſelf had deſcended; that the wood with which the fire was ſupplied ſhould be pure wood without bark; that eight wiſe men of the nation ſhould be choſen for guarding the fire night and day; that thoſe eight men ſhould have a chief, who ſhould ſee them do their duty, and that if any of them failed in it he ſhould be put to death. He likewiſe ordered another temple to be built in a diſtant part of our nation, which was then very populous, and the eternal fire to be kept there alſo, that in caſe it ſhould be extinguiſhed in the one it might be brought from the other; in which caſe, till it was again lighted, the nation would be afflicted with a great mortality."

"Our nation having conſented to theſe conditions, he agreed to be our ſovereign; and in preſence of all the people he brought down the fire from the ſun, upon ſome wood of the walnut-tree which he had prepared, which fire was depoſited in both the temples. He lived a long time, and ſaw his children's children. To conclude, he inſtituted our feaſts ſuch as you ſee them."

The Natchez have neither ſacrifices, libations, nor offerings: their whole worſhip conſiſts in preſerving the eternal fire, and this the Great Sun watches over with a peculiar attention. The Sun, who reigned when I was in the country, was extremely ſolicitous about it, and viſited the temple every day. His vigilance had been awakened by a ter-

rible hurricane which ſome years before had happened in the country, and was looked upon as an extraordinary event, the air being generally clear and ſerene in that climate. If to that calamity ſhould be joined the extinction of the eternal fire, he was apprehenſive their whole nation would be deſtroyed.

One day, when the Great Sun called upon me, he gave me an account of a dreadful calamity that had formerly befallen the nation of the Natchez, in conſequence, as he believed, of the extinction of the eternal fire. He introduced his account in the following manner: "Our nation was formerly very numerous and very powerful; it extended more than twelve days journey from eaſt to weſt, and more than fifteen from ſouth to north. We reckoned then 500 Suns, and you may judge by that what was the number of the nobles, of the people of rank, and the common people. Now in times paſt it happened, that one of the two guardians, who were upon duty in the temple, left it on ſome buſineſs, and the other fell aſleep, and ſuffered the fire to go out. When he awaked and ſaw that he had incurred the penalty of death, he went and got ſome profane fire, as tho' he had been going to light his pipe, and with that he renewed the eternal fire. His tranſgreſſion was by that means concealed; but a dreadful mortality immediately enſued, and raged for four years, during which many Suns and an infinite number of the people died.

The guardian at length ſickened, and found himſelf dying, upon which he ſent for the Great Sun, and confeſſed the heinous crime he had been guilty of. The old men were immediately aſſembled, and, by their advice, fire being ſnatched from the other temple, and brought into this, the mortality quickly ceaſed." Upon my aſking him what he meant by "ſnatching the fire," he replied, "that it muſt always be brought away by violence, and that ſome blood muſt be ſhed, unleſs ſome tree on the road was ſet on fire by lightning, and then the fire might be brought from thence;

thence; but that the fire of the ſun was always preferable.

It is impoſſible to expreſs his aſtoniſhment when I told him, that it was a trifling matter to bring down fire from the ſun, and that I had it in my power to do it whenever I pleaſed. As he was extremely deſirous to ſee me perform that ſeeming miracle, I took the ſmalleſt of two burning glaſſes which I had brought from France, and placing ſome dry punk (or agaric) upon a chip of wood, I drew the focus of the glaſs upon it, and with a tone of authority pronounced the word *Cabeuch*, that is, *come*, as tho' I had been commanding the fire to come down. The punk immediately ſmoking, I blew a little and made it flame to the utter aſtoniſhment of the Great Sun and his whole retinue, ſome of whom ſtood trembling with amazement and religious awe. The prince himſelf could not help exclaiming, "Ah, what an extraordinary thing is here!" I confirmed him in his idea, by telling him, that I greatly loved and eſteemed that uſeful inſtrument, as it was moſt valuable, and was given to me by my grand-father, who was a very learned man.

Upon his aſking me, if another man could do the ſame thing with that inſtrument that he had ſeen me do, I told him that every man might do it, and I encouraged him to make the experiment himſelf. I accordingly put the glaſs in his hand, and leading it with mine over another piece of agaric, I deſired him to pronounce the word *Cabeuch*, which he did, but with a very faint and diffident tone; nevertheleſs, to his great amazement, he ſaw the agaric begin to ſmoke, which ſo confounded him that he dropt both the chip on which it was laid and the glaſs out of his hands, crying out, "Ah, what a miracle!"

Their curioſity being now fully raiſed, they held a conſultation in my yard, and reſolved to purchaſe at any rate my wonderful glaſs, which would prevent any future mortality in their nation, in conſequence of the ext nction of the

the eternal fire. I, in the mean time, had gone out to my field, as if about ſome buſineſs; but in reality to have a hearty laugh at the comical ſcene which I had juſt occaſioned. Upon my return the Great Sun entered my apartment with me, and laying his hand upon mine, told me, that tho' he loved all the French, he was more my friend than of any of the reſt, becauſe moſt of the French carried all their underſtanding upon their tongue, but that I carried mine in my whole head and my whole body. After this preamble he offered to bargain for my glaſs, and deſired me to ſet what value I pleaſed upon it, adding that he would not only cauſe the price to be paid by all the families of the nation, but would declare to them that they lay under an obligation to me for giving up to them a thing which ſaved them from a general mortality. I replied, that tho' I bore his whole nation in my heart, yet nothing made me part with my glaſs, but my affection for him and his brother; that, beſides, I aſked nothing in return but things neceſſary for my ſubſiſtence, ſuch as corn, fowls, game, and fiſh, when they brought him any of theſe. He offered me twenty barrels of maiz, of 150 pounds each, twenty fowls, twenty turkies, and told me that he would ſend me game and fiſh every time his warriors brought him any, and his promiſe was punctually fulfilled. He engaged likewiſe not to ſpeak any thing about it to the Frenchmen, leſt they ſhould be angry with me for parting with an inſtrument of ſo great a value. Next day the glaſs was tried before a general aſſembly of all the Suns, both men and women, the nobles, and the men of rank, who all met together at the temple; and the ſame effect being produced as the day before, the bargain was ratified; but it was reſolved not to mention the affair to the common people, who, from their curioſity to know the ſecrets of their court, were aſſembled in great numbers not far from the temple, but only to tell them, that the whole nation of the Natchez were under great obligations to me.

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The Natchez are brought up in a moſt perfect ſubmiſſion to their ſovereign; the authority which their princes exerciſe over them is abſolutely deſpotic, and can be compared to nothing but that of the firſt Ottoman emperors. Like theſe, the Great Sun is abſolute maſter of the lives and eſtates of his ſubjects, which he diſpoſes of at his pleaſure, his will being the only law; but he has this ſingular advantage over the Ottoman princes, that he has no occaſion to fear any ſeditious tumults, or any conſpiracy againſt his perſon. If he orders a man guilty of a capital crime to be put to death, the criminal neither ſupplicates, nor procures interceſſion to be made for his life, nor attempts to run away. The order of the ſovereign is executed on the ſpot, and nobody murmurs. But however abſolute the authority of the Great Sun may be, and although a number of warriors and others attach themſelves to him, to ſerve him, to follow him wherever he goes, and to hunt for him, yet he raiſes no ſtated impoſitions; and what he receives from thoſe people appears given, not ſo much as a right due, as a voluntary homage, and a teſtimony of their love and gratitude.

The Natchez begin their year in the month of March, as was the practice a long time in Europe, and divide it into thirteen moons. At every new moon they celebrate a feaſt, which takes its name from the principal fruits reaped in the preceding moon, or from animals that are then uſually hunted. I ſhall give an account of one or two of theſe feaſts as concifely as I can.

The firſt moon is called that of the Deer, and begins their new year, which is celebrated by them with univerſal joy, and is at the ſame time an anniverſary memorial of one of the moſt intereſting events in their hiſtory. In former times a Great Sun, upon hearing a ſudden tumult in his village, had left his hut in a great hurry, in order to appeaſe it, and fell into the hands of his enemies; but was quickly after reſcued by his warriors, who repulſed the invaders, and put them to flight. In order

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to preſerve the remembrance of this honourable exploit, the warriors divide themſelves into two bodies, diſtinguiſhed from each other by the colour of their feathers. One of theſe bodies repreſents the invaders, and after raiſing loud ſhouts and cries, ſeize the Great Sun, who comes out of his hut undreſt, and rubbing his eyes, as though he were juſt awake. The Great Sun defends himſelf intrepidly with a wooden tomahawk, and lays a great many of his enemies upon the ground, without however giving them a ſingle blow, for he only ſeems to touch them with his weapon. In the mean time the other party come out of their ambuſcade, attack the invaders, and, after fighting with them for ſome time, reſcue their prince, and drive them into a wood, which is repreſented by an arbour made of canes. During the whole time of the ſkirmiſh, the parties keep up the war-cry, or the cry of terror, as each of them ſeem to be victors or vanquiſhed. The Great Sun is brought back to his hut in a triumphant manner; and the old men, women, and children, who were ſpectators of the engagement, rend the ſky with their joyful acclamations. The Great Sun continues in his hut about half an hour, to repoſe himſelf after his great fatigues, which are ſuch that an actor of thirty years of age would with difficulty have ſupported them, and he however, when I ſaw this feaſt, was above ninety. He then makes his appearance again to the people, who ſalute him with loud acclamations, which ceaſe upon his proceeding towards the temple. When he is arrived in the middle of the court before the temple, he makes ſeveral geſticulations, then ſtretches out his arms horizontally, and remains in that poſture motionleſs as a ſtatue for half an hour. He is then relieved by the maſter of the ceremonies, who places himſelf in the ſame attitude, and half an hour after is relieved by the great chief of war, who remains as long in the ſame poſture. When this ceremony is over, the Great Sun, who, when he was relieved, had returned to his hut, appears again before the

people in the ornaments of his dignity, is placed upon his throne, which is a large ſtool with four feet cut out of one piece of wood, has a fine buffalo's ſkin thrown over his ſhoulders, and ſeveral furs laid upon his feet, and receives various preſents from the women, who all the while continue to expreſs their joy by their ſhouts and acclamations. Strangers are then invited to dine with the Great Sun, and in the evening there is a dance in his hut, which is about thirty feet ſquare, and twenty feet high, and like the temple is built upon a mount of earth, about eight feet high, and ſixty feet over on the ſurface.

The ſecond moon, which anſwers to our April, is called the Strawberry moon, as that fruit abounds then in great quantities.

The third moon is that of the Small Corn. This moon is often impatiently looked for, their crop of large corn never ſufficing to nouriſh them from one harveſt to another.

The fourth is that of Water-melons, and anſwers to our June.

The fifth moon is that of the Fiſhes: in this month alſo they gather grapes, if the birds have ſuffered them to ripen.

The ſixth, which anſwers to our Auguſt, is that of the Mulberries. At this feaſt they likewiſe carry fowls to the Great Sun.

The ſeventh, which is that of Maiz, or Great Corn. This feaſt is beyond diſpute the moſt ſolemn of all. It principally conſiſts in eating in common, and in a religious manner, of new corn, which had been ſown expreſsly with that deſign, with ſuitable ceremonies. This corn is ſown upon a ſpot of ground never before cultivated; which ground is dreſſed and prepared by the warriors alone, who alſo are the only perſons that ſow the corn, weed it, reap it, and gather it. When this corn is near ripe, the warriors fix on a place proper for the general feaſt,

feaſt, and cloſe adjoining to that they form a round granary, the bottom and ſides of which are of cane; this they fill with the corn, and when they have finiſhed the harveſt, and covered the granary, they acquaint the Great Sun, who appoints the day for the general feaſt. Some days before the feaſt, they build huts for the Great Sun, and for all the other families, round the granary, that of the Great Sun being raiſed upon a mount of earth about two feet high. On the feaſt-day the whole nation ſet out from their village at ſun-riſing, leaving behind only the aged and infirm that are not able to travel, and a few warriors, who are to carry the Great Sun on a litter upon their ſhoulders. The ſeat of this litter is covered with ſeveral deer ſkins, and to its four ſides are faſtened four bars which croſs each other, and are ſupported by eight men, who at every hundred paces transfer their burden to eight other men, and thus ſucceſſively tranſport it to the place where the feaſt is celebrated, which may be near two miles from the village. About nine o'clock the Great Sun comes out of his hut dreſſed in the ornaments of his dignity, and being placed in his litter, which has a canopy at the head formed of flowers, he is carried in a few minutes to the ſacred granary, ſhouts of joy re-echoing on all ſides. Before he alights he makes the tour of the whole place deliberately, and when he comes before the corn, he ſalutes it thrice with the words, *hoo*, *hoo*, *hoo*, lengthened and pronounced reſpectfully. The ſalutation is repeated by the whole nation, who pronounce the word *hoo* nine times diſtinctly, and at the ninth time he alights and places himſelf on his throne.

Immediately after they light a fire by rubbing two pieces of wood violently againſt each other, and when every thing is prepared for dreſſing the corn, the chief of war, accompanied by the warriors belonging to each family, preſents himſelf before the throne, and addreſſes the Sun in theſe words, "ſpeak, for I hear thee." The ſovereign then riſes up, bows towards the four quarters of

the world, and advancing to the granary, lifts his eyes and hands to heaven, and ſays, " Give us corn :" upon which the great chief of war, the princes and princeſſes, and all the men, thank him ſeparately, by pronouncing the word *hoo*. The corn is then diſtributed, firſt to the female Suns, and then to all the women, who run with it to their huts, and dreſs it with the utmoſt diſpatch. When the corn is dreſſed in all the huts, a plate of it is put into the hands of the Great Sun, who preſents it to the four quarters of the world, and then ſays to the chief of war, *eat*; upon this ſignal the warriors begin to eat in all the huts; after them the boys of whatever age, excepting thoſe who are on the breaſt; and laſt of all the women. When the warriors have finiſhed their repaſt, they form themſelves into two choirs before the huts, and ſing war ſongs for half an hour; after which the chief of war, and all the warriors in ſucceſſion, recount their brave exploits, and mention, in a boaſting manner, the number of enemies they have ſlain. The youths are next allowed to harangue, and each tells in the beſt manner he can, not what he has done, but what he intends to do; and if his diſcourſe merits approbation, he is anſwered by a general *hoo*; if not, the warriors hang down their heads and are ſilent.

This great ſolemnity is concluded with a general dance by torch-light. Upwards of two hundred torches of dried canes, each of the thickneſs of a child, are lighted round the place, where the men and women often continue dancing till day-light; and the following is the diſpoſition of their dance. A man places himſelf on the ground with a pot covered with a deer-ſkin, in the manner of a drum, to beat time to the dancers; round him the women form themſelves into a circle, not joining hands, but at ſome diſtance from each other; and they are incloſed by the men in another circle, who have in each hand a chichicois, or calabaſh, with a ſtick thruſt through it to ſerve for a handle. When the dance begins, the

the women move round the men in the centre, from left to right, and the men contrariwiſe from right to left, and they ſometimes narrow and ſometimes widen their circles. In this manner the dance continues without intermiſſion the whole night, new performers ſucceſſively taking the place of thoſe who are wearied and fatigued.

Next morning no perſon is ſeen abroad before the Great Sun comes out of his hut, which is generally about nine o'clock, and then upon a ſignal made by the drum, the warriors make their appearance diſtinguiſhed into two troops, by the feathers which they wear on their heads. One of theſe troops is headed by the Great Sun, and the other by the chief of war, who begin a new diverſion by toſſing a ball of deer-ſkin ſtuffed with Spaniſh beard from the one to the other. The warriors quickly take part in the ſport, and a violent conteſt enſues which of the two parties ſhall drive the ball to the hut of the oppoſite chief. The diverſion generally laſts two hours, and the victors are allowed to wear the feathers of ſuperiority till the following year, or till the next time they play at the ball. After this the warriors perform the war dance; and laſt of all they go and bathe; an exerciſe which they are very fond of when they are heated or fatigued.

The reſt of that day is employed as the preceding; for the feaſt holds as long as any of the corn remains. When it is all eat up, the Great Sun is carried back in his litter, and they all return to the village, after which he ſends the warriors to hunt both for themſelves and him.

The eighth moon is that of Turkies, and anſwers to our October.

The ninth moon is that of the Buffalo; and it is then they go to hunt that animal. Having diſcovered whereabouts the herd feeds, they go out in a body to hunt them. Young and old, girls and married women, except thoſe who are with child, are all of the party, for there is generally work for them all. Some nations are a little

later in going out to this hunting, that they may find the cows fatter, and the herds more numerous.

The tenth moon is that of Bears; at this time of hunting the feaſts are not ſo grand and ſolemn, becauſe great part of the nations are accompanying the hunters in their expeditions.

The eleventh anſwers to our January, and is named the Cold-meal Moon. The twelfth is that of Cheſnuts. That fruit has been gathered long before, nevertheleſs it gives its name to this moon.

Laſtly, the thirteenth is that of Walnuts, and it is added to compleat the year. It is then they break the nuts to make bread of them by mixing with them the flour of Maiz.

The feaſts which I ſaw celebrated in the chief village of the Natchez, which is the reſidence of the Great Sun, are celebrated in the ſame manner in all the villages of the nation, which are each governed by a Sun, who is ſubordinate to the Great Sun, and acknowledge his abſolute authority.

It is not to be conceived how exact theſe people are in aſſigning the pre-eminence to the men. In every aſſembly, whether of the whole nation in general, or of ſeveral families together, or of one ſingle family, the youngeſt boys have the preference to the women of the moſt advanced age; and at their meals, when their food is diſtributed, none is preſented to the women, till all the males have received their ſhare, ſo that a boy of two years old is ſerved before his mother.

The women being always employed, without ever being diverted from their duty, or ſeduced by the gallantries of lovers, never think of objecting to the propriety of a cuſtom, in which they have been conſtantly brought up. Never having ſeen any example that contradicted it, they have not the leaſt idea of varying from it. Thus being

ſubmiſſive

ſubmiſſive from habit, as well as from reaſon, they, by their docility, maintain that peace in their families, which they find eſtabliſhed upon entering them.

SECT. III.

Of their Marriages, and Diſtinction of Ranks.

PATERNAL authority, as I have elſewhere obſerved, is not leſs ſacred and inviolable than the pre-eminence of the men. It ſtill ſubſiſts among the Natchez, ſuch as it was in the firſt ages of the world. The children belong to the father, and while he lives they are under his power. They live with him, they, their wives, and their children; the ſame hut contains the whole family. The old man alone commands there, and nothing but death puts an end to his empire. As theſe people have ſeldom or rather never any differences among them, the paternal authority appears in nothing more conſpicuous than in the marriages.

When the boys and girls arrive at the perfect age of puberty, they viſit each other familiarly, and are ſuffered ſo to do. The girls, ſenſible that they will be no longer miſtreſſes of their heart, when once they are married, know how to diſpoſe of it to advantage, and form their wardrobe by the ſale of their favours; for there, as well as in other countries, nothing for nothing. The lover, far from having any thing to object to this, on the contrary, rates the merit of his future ſpouſe, in proportion to the fruits ſhe has produced. But when they are married they have no longer any intrigues, neither the huſband nor the wife, becauſe their heart is no longer their own. They may divorce their wives; it is, however, ſo rare to ſee the man and wife part, that during the eight years I lived in their neighbourhood, I knew but one example of it, and then each took with them the children of their own ſex.

If a young man has obtained a girl's conſent, and they deſire to marry, it is not their fathers, and much leſs their mothers, or male or female relations who take upon them to conclude the match; it is the heads of the two families alone, who are uſually great-grandfathers, and ſometimes more. Theſe two old men have an interview, in which, after the young man has formally made a demand of the girl, they examine if there be any relation between the two parties, and if any, what degree it is; for they do not marry within the third degree. Notwithſtanding this interview, and the two parties be found not within the prohibited degrees, yet if the propoſed wife be diſagreeable to the father, grandfather, &c. of the huſband, the match is never concluded. On the other hand, ambition, avarice, and the other paſſions, ſo common with us, never ſtifle in the breaſts of the fathers thoſe dictates of nature, which make us deſire to ſee ourſelves perpetuated in our offſpring, nor influence them to thwart their children improperly, and much leſs to force their inclinations. By an admirable harmony, very worthy of our imitation, they only marry thoſe who love one another, and thoſe who love one another, are only married when their parents agree to it. It is rare for young men to marry before they be five-and-twenty. Till they arrive at that age they are looked upon as too weak, without underſtanding and experience.

When the marriage-day is once fixed, preparations are made for it both by the men and women; the men go a hunting, and the women prepare the maiz, and deck out the young man's cabin to the beſt of their power. On the wedding-day the old man on the part of the girl leaves his hut, and conducts the bride to the hut of the bridegroom; his whole family follow him in order and ſilence; thoſe who are inclined to laugh or be merry, indulging themſelves only in a ſmile.

He finds before the other hut all the relations of the bridegroom, who receive and ſalute him with their uſual expreſſion

expreſſion of congratulation, namely, *hoo, hoo*, repeated ſeveral times. When he enters the hut, the old man on the part of the bridegroom ſays to him in their language, *are you there?* to which he anſwers, *yes*. He is next deſired to ſit down, and then not a word paſſes for near ten minutes, it being one of their prudent cuſtoms to ſuffer a gueſt to reſt himſelf a little after his arrival, before they begin a converſation; and beſides, they look upon the time ſpent in compliments as thrown away.

After both the old men are fully reſted, they riſe, and the bridegroom and bride appearing before them, they aſk them, if they love each other? and if they are willing to take one another for man and wife? obſerving to them at the ſame time, that they ought not to marry unleſs they propoſe to live amicably together; that nobody forces them, and that as they are each other's free choice, they will be thruſt out of the family if they do not live in peace. After this remonſtrance the father of the bridegroom delivers the preſent which his ſon is to make into his hands, the bride's father at the ſame time placing himſelf by her ſide. The bridegroom then addreſſes the bride; "Will you have me for your huſband?" She an-
"ſwers, "Moſt willingly, and it gives me joy; love me, as well as I love you; for I love, and ever will love none but you." At theſe words the bridegroom covers the head of the bride with the preſent which he received from his father, and ſays to her, "I love you, and have therefore taken you for my wife, and this I give to your parents, to purchaſe you." He then gives the preſent to the bride's father.

The huſband wears a tuft of feathers faſtened to his hair, which is in the form of a cue, and hangs over his left ear, to which is faſtened a ſprig of oak with the leaves on, and in his left hand he bears a bow and arrows. The young wife bears in her left hand a ſmall branch of laurel, and in her right a ſtalk of maiz, which was delivered to her by her mother at the time ſhe received the preſent from

from her huſband. This ſtalk ſhe preſents to her huſband, who takes it from her with his right hand, and ſays, "I am your huſband;" ſhe anſwers, and "I am your wife." They then ſhake hands reciprocally with each other's relations; after which he leads her towards the bed, and ſays, "There is our bed, keep it tight;" which is as much as to ſay, do not defile the nuptial bed.

The marriage ceremony being thus concluded, the bridegroom and the bride, with their friends, ſit down to a repaſt, and in the evening they begin their dances, which continue often till day-light.

The nation of the Natchez is compoſed of nobility and common people. The common people are named in their language *Miche-Miche-Quipy*, that is, *Stinkards*; a name however which gives them great offence, and which it is proper to avoid pronouncing before them, as it would not fail to put them into a very bad humour. The common people are to the laſt degree ſubmiſſive to the nobility, who are divided into Suns, nobles, and men of rank.

The Suns are the deſcendants of the man and woman who pretended to have come down from the ſun. Among the other laws they gave to the Natchez, they ordained that their race ſhould always be diſtinguiſhed from the bulk of the nation, and that none of them ſhould ever be put to death upon any account. They eſtabliſhed likewiſe another uſage which is found among no other people, except a nation of Scythians mentioned by Herodotus. They ordained that nobility ſhould only be tranſmitted by the women. Their male and female children were equally named Suns, and regarded as ſuch, but with this difference, that the males enjoyed this privilege only in their own perſon, and during their own lives. Their children had only the title of nobles, and the male children of thoſe nobles were only men of rank. Thoſe men of rank, however, if they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their warlike exploits, might raiſe themſelves again to the rank of nobles;

nobles; but their children became only men of rank, and the children of thoſe men of rank, as well as of the others, were confounded with the common people, and claſſed among the Stinkards. Thus as theſe people are very long-lived, and frequently ſee the fourth generation, it often happens that a Sun ſees ſome of his poſterity among the Stinkards; but they are at great pains to conceal this degradation of their race, eſpecially from ſtrangers, and almoſt totally diſown thoſe great-grand children; for when they ſpeak of them they only ſay, they are dear to them. It is otherwiſe with the female poſterity of the Suns, for they continue through all generations to enjoy their rank. The deſcendants of the Suns being pretty numerous, it might be expected that thoſe who are out of the prohibited degrees might intermarry, rather than ally with the Stinkards; but a moſt barbarous cuſtom obliges them to their miſ-alliances. When any of the Suns, either male or female, die, their law ordains that the huſband or wife of that Sun ſhall be put to death on the day of the interment of the deceaſed: now as another law prohibits the iſſue of the Suns from being put to death, it is therefore impoſſible for the deſcendants of the Suns to match with each other.

Whether it be that they are tired of this law, or that they wiſh their Suns deſcended of French blood, I ſhall not determine; but the wife of the Great Sun came one day to viſit me ſo early in the morning that I was not got out of bed. She was accompanied with her only daughter, a girl between fourteen and fifteen years of age, handſome and well ſhaped; but ſhe only ſent in her own name by my ſlave; ſo that without getting up, I made no ſcruple of deſiring her to come in. When her daughter appeared I was not a little ſurprized; but I ſhook hands with them both, and deſired them to ſit down. The daughter ſat down on the foot of my bed, and kept her eyes continually fixed on me, while the mother addreſſed herſelf to me in the moſt ſerious and pathetic tone. After

ſome

ſome compliments to me, and commendations of our cuſtoms and manners, ſhe condemned the barbarous uſages that prevailed among themſelves, and ended with propoſing me as a huſband for her daughter, that I might have it in my power to civilize their nation by aboliſhing their inhuman cuſtoms, and introducing thoſe of the French. As I foreſaw the danger of ſuch an alliance, which would be oppoſed by the whole nation of the Natchez, and at the ſame time was ſenſible that the reſentment of a ſlighted woman is very formidable, I returned her ſuch an anſwer as might ſhew my great reſpect for her daughter, and prevent her from making the ſame application to ſome brainleſs Frenchman, who, by accepting the offer, might expoſe the French ſettlement to ſome diſaſtrous event. I told her that her daughter was handſome, and pleaſed me much, as ſhe had a good heart, and a well turned mind; but the laws we received from the Great Spirit, forbad us to marry women who did not pray; and that thoſe Frenchmen who lived with their daughters took them only for a time; but it was not proper that the daughter of the Great Sun ſhould be diſpoſed of in that manner. The mother acquieſced in my reaſons; but when they took their leave I perceived plainly that the daughter was far from being ſatisfied. I never ſaw her from that day forwards; and I heard ſhe was ſoon after married to another.

From this relation the reader may perceive that there needs nothing but prudence and good ſenſe to perſuade thoſe people to what is reaſonable, and to preſerve their friendſhip without interruption. We may ſafely affirm that the differences we have had with them have been more owing to the French than to them. When they are treated inſolently or oppreſſively, they have no leſs ſenſibility of injuries than others. If thoſe who have occaſion to live among them, will but have ſentiments of humanity, they will in them meet with men.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

Of the Temples, Tombs, Burials, and other religious Ceremonies of the People of Louiſiana.

I Shall now proceed to give ſome account of the cuſtoms that prevail in general among all the nations of North America; and theſe have a great reſemblance to each other, as there is hardly any difference in the manner of thinking and acting among the ſeveral nations. Theſe people have no religion expreſſed by any external worſhip. The ſtrongeſt evidences that we diſcover of their having any religion at all, are their temples, and the eternal fire therein kept up by ſome of them. Some of them indeed do not keep up the eternal fire, and have turned their temples into charnel-houſes.

However, all thoſe people, without exception, acknowledge a Supreme Being, but they never on any account addreſs their prayers to him, from their fixt belief that God, whom they call the Great Spirit, is ſo good, that he cannot do evil, whatever provocation he may have. They believe the exiſtence of two Great Spirits, a good and a bad. They do not, as I have ſaid, invoke the Good Spirit; but they pray to the bad, in order to avert from their perſons and poſſeſſions the evils which he might inflict upon them. They pray to the evil ſpirit, not becauſe they think him almighty; for it is the Good Spirit whom they believe ſo; but becauſe, according to them, he governs the air, the ſeaſons, the rain, the fine weather, and all that may benefit or hurt the productions of the earth.

They are very ſuperſtitious in reſpect to the flight of birds, and the paſſage of ſome animals that are ſeldom ſeen in their country. They are much inclined to hear and believe diviners, eſpecially in regard to diſcovering things to come; and they are kept in their errors by the Jongleurs, who find their account in them.

The natives have all the ſame manner of bringing up their children, and are in general well ſhaped, and their limbs are juſtly proportioned. The Chicaſaws are the moſt fierce and arrogant, which they undoubtedly owe to their frequent intercourſe with the Engliſh of Carolina. They are brave; a diſpoſition they may have inherited as the remains of that martial ſpirit that prompted them to invade their neighbouring nations, by which they themſelves were at length greatly weakened. All the nations on the north of the colony are likewiſe brave, but they are more humane than the Chicaſaws, and have not their high-ſpirited pride. All theſe nations of the north, and all thoſe of Louiſiana, have been inviolably attached to us ever ſince our eſtabliſhment in this colony. The misfortune of the Natchez, who, without diſpute, were the fineſt of all thoſe nations, and who loved us, ought not in the leaſt to leſſen our ſentiments of thoſe people, who are in general diſtinguiſhed for their natural goodneſs of character. All thoſe nations are prudent, and ſpeak little; they are ſober in their diet, but they are paſſionately fond of brandy, though they are ſingular in never taſting any wine, and neither know nor care to learn any compoſition of liquors. In their meals they content themſelves with maiz prepared various ways, and ſometimes they uſe fiſh and fleſh. The meat that they eat is chiefly recommended to them for being wholeſome; and therefore I have conjectured that dog's fleſh, for which we have ſuch an averſion, muſt however be as good as it is beautiful, ſince they rate it ſo highly as to uſe it by way of preference in their feaſts of ceremony. They eat no young game, as they find plenty of the largeſt ſize, and do not think delicacy of taſte alone any recommendation; and therefore, in general, they would not taſte our ragouts, but, condemning them as unwholeſome, prefer to them gruel made of maiz, called in the colony Sagamity.

The Chactaws are the only ugly people among all the nations in Louiſiana; which is chiefly owing to the fat with

with which they rub their ſkin and their hair, and to their manner of defending themſelves againſt the moſkitos, which they keep off by lighting fires of fir-wood, and ſtanding in the ſmoke.

Although all the people of Louiſiana have nearly the ſame uſages and cuſtoms, yet as any nation is more or leſs populous, it has proportionally more or fewer ceremonies. Thus when the French firſt arrived in the colony, ſeveral nations kept up the eternal fire, and obſerved other religious ceremonies, which they have now diſuſed, ſince their numbers have been greatly diminiſhed. Many of them ſtill continue to have temples, but the common people never enter theſe, nor ſtrangers, unleſs peculiarly favoured by the nation. As I was an intimate friend of the ſovereign of the Natchez, he ſhewed me their temple, which is about thirty feet ſquare, and ſtands upon an artificial mount about eight feet high, by the ſide of a ſmall river. The mount ſlopes inſenſibly from the main front, which is northwards, but on the other ſides it is ſomewhat ſteeper. The four corners of the temple conſiſt of four poſts, about a foot and an half diameter, and ten feet high, each made of the heart of the cypreſs tree, which is incorruptible. The ſide-poſts are of the ſame wood, but only about a foot ſquare; and the walls are of mud, about nine inches thick; ſo that in the inſide there is a hollow between every poſt. The inner ſpace is divided from eaſt to weſt into two apartments, one of which is twice as large as the other. In the largeſt apartment the eternal fire is kept, and there is likewiſe a table or altar in it, about four feet high, ſix long, and two broad. Upon this table lie the bones of the late Great Sun in a coffin of canes very neatly made. In the inner apartment, which is very dark, as it receives no light but from the door of communication, I could meet with nothing but two boards, on which were placed ſome things like ſmall toys, which I had not light to peruſe. The roof is in the form of a pavilion, and very neat both within and without,

out, and on the top of it are placed three wooden birds, twice as large as a goose, with their heads turned towards the east. The corner and side-posts, as has been mentioned, rise above the earth ten feet high, and it is said they are as much sunk under ground; it cannot therefore but appear surprising how the natives could transport such large beams, fashion them, and raise them upright, when we know of no machines they had for that purpose. Besides the eight guardians of the temple, two of whom are always on watch, and the chief of those guardians, there also belongs to the service of the temple a master of the ceremonies, who is also master of the mysteries; since, according to them, he converses very familiarly with the Spirit. Above all these persons is the Great Sun, who is at the same time chief priest and sovereign of the nation. The temples of some of the nations of Louisiana are very mean, and one would often be apt to miskake them for the huts of private persons; but to those who are acquainted with their manners, they are easily distinguishable, as they have always before the door two posts formed like the ancient Termini, that is, having the upper part cut into the shape of a man's head. The door of the temple, which is pretty weighty, is placed between the wall and those two posts, so that children may not be able to remove it, to go and play in the temple. The private huts have also posts before their doors, but these are never formed like Termini.

None of the nations of Louisiana are acquainted with the custom of burning their dead, which was practised by the Greeks and Romans; nor with that of the Egyptians, who studied to preserve them to perpetuity. The different American nations have a most religious attention for their dead, and each have some peculiar customs in respect to them; but all of them either inter them, or place them in tombs, and carefully carry victuals to them for some time. These tombs are either within their temples, or close adjoining to them, or in their neighbourhood. They are raised

raiſed about three feet above the earth, and reſt upon four pillars, which are forked ſtakes fixed faſt in the ground. The tomb, or rather bier, is about eight feet long, and a foot and a half broad; and after the body is placed upon it, a kind of baſket-work of twigs is wove round it, and covered with mud, an opening being left at the head for placing the victuals that are preſented to the dead perſon. When the body is all rotted but the bones, theſe are taken out of the tomb, and placed in a box of canes, which is depoſited in the temple. They uſually weep and lament for their dead three days; but for thoſe who are killed in war, they make a much longer and a more grievous lamentation.

Among the Natchez the death of any of their Suns, as I have before obſerved, is a moſt fatal event; for it is ſure to be attended with the deſtruction of a great number of people of both ſexes. Early in the ſpring 1725, the Stung Serpent, who was the brother of the Great Sun, and my intimate friend, was ſeized with a mortal diſtemper, which filled the whole nation of the Natchez with the greateſt conſternation and terror; for the two brothers had mutually engaged to follow each other to the land of ſpirits; and if the Great Sun ſhould kill himſelf for the ſake of his brother, very many people would likewiſe be put to death. When the Stung Serpent was deſpaired of, the chief of the guardians of the temple came to me in the greateſt confuſion, and acquainting me with the mutual engagements of the two brothers, begged of me to intereſt myſelf in preſerving the Great Sun, and conſequently a great part of the nation. He made the ſame requeſt to the commander of the fort. Accordingly we were no ſooner informed of the death of the Stung Serpent, than the commander, ſome of the principal Frenchmen, and I, went in a body to the hut of the Great Sun. We found him in deſpair; but, after ſome time, he ſeemed to be influenced by the arguments I uſed to diſſuade him from putting himſelf to death. The

death of the Stung Serpent was publiſhed by the firing of two muſkets, which were anſwered by the other villages, and immediately cries and lamentations were heard on all ſides. The Great Sun, in the mean time, remained inconſolable, and ſat bent forwards, with his eyes towards the ground. In the evening, while we were ſtill in his hut, he made a ſign to his favourite wife; who in conſequence of that threw a pailful of water on the fire, and extinguiſhed it. This was a ſignal for extinguiſhing all the fires of the nation, and filled every one with terrible alarms, as it denoted that the Great Sun was ſtill reſolved to put himſelf to death. I gently chided him for altering his former reſolution, but he aſſured me he had not, and deſired us to go and ſleep ſecurely. We accordingly left him, pretending to rely on the aſſurance he had given us; but we took up our lodging in the hut of his chief ſervants, and ſtationed a ſoldier at the door of his hut, whom we ordered to give us notice of whatever happened. There was no need to fear our being betrayed by the wife of the Great Sun, or any others about him; for none of them had the leaſt inclination to die, if they could help it. On the contrary, they all expreſſed the greateſt thankfulneſs and gratitude to us for our endeavours to avert the threatened calamity from their nation.

Before we went to our lodgings we entered the hut of the deceaſed, and found him on his bed of ſtate, dreſſed in his fineſt cloaths, his face painted with vermilion, ſhod as if for a journey, with his feather-crown on his head. To his bed were faſtened his arms, which conſiſted of a double-barreled gun, a piſtol, a bow, a quiver full of arrows, and a tomahawk. Round his bed were placed all the calumets of peace he had received during his life, and on a pole, planted in the ground near it, hung a chain of forty-ſix rings of cane painted red, to expreſs the number of enemies he had ſlain. All his domeſticks were round him, and they preſented victuals to him at the uſual hours, as if he were alive. The company

pany in his hut were compoſed of his favourite wife, of a ſecond wife, which he kept in another village, and viſited when his favourite was with child; of his chancellor, his phyſician, his chief domeſtic, his pipe-bearer, and ſome old women, who were all to be ſtrangled at his interment. To theſe victims a noble woman voluntarily joined herſelf, reſolving, from her friendſhip to the Stung Serpent, to go and live with him in the country of ſpirits. I regretted her on many accounts, but particularly as ſhe was intimately acquainted with the virtues of ſimples, had by her ſkill ſaved many of our people's lives, and given me many uſeful inſtructions. After we had ſatisfied our curioſity in the hut of the deceaſed, we retired to our hut, where we ſpent the night. But at day-break we were ſuddenly awaked, and told that it was with difficulty the Great Sun was kept from killing himſelf. We haſtened to his hut, and upon entering it I remarked diſmay and terror painted upon the countenances of all who were preſent. The Great Sun held his gun by the butt-end, and ſeemed enraged that the other Suns had ſeized upon it, to prevent him from executing his purpoſe. I addreſſed myſelf to him, and after opening the pan of the lock, to let the priming fall out, I chided him gently for his not acting according to his former reſolution. He pretended at firſt not to ſee me; but, after ſome time, he let go his hold of the muſket, and ſhook hands with me without ſpeaking a word. I then went towards his wife, who all this while had appeared in the utmoſt agony and terror, and I aſked her if ſhe was ill. She anſwered me, "Yes, very ill," and added, "if you leave us, my huſband is a dead man, and all the Natchez will die; ſtay then, for he opens his ears only to your words, which have the ſharpneſs and ſtrength of arrows. You are his true friend, and do not laugh when you ſpeak, like moſt of the Frenchmen." The Great Sun at length conſented to order his fire to be again lighted, which was the ſignal for lighting

the other fires of the nation, and diſpelled all their apprehenſions.

Soon after the natives begun the dance of death, and prepared for the funeral of the Stung Serpent. Orders were given to put none to death on that occaſion, but thoſe who were in the hut of the deceaſed. A child however had been already ſtrangled by its father and mother, which ranſomed their lives upon the death of the Great Sun, and raiſed them from the rank of Stinkards to that of Nobles. Thoſe who were appointed to die were conducted twice a day, and placed in two rows before the temple, where they acted over the ſcene of their death, each accompanied by eight of their own relations who were to be their executioners, and by that office exempted themſelves from dying upon the death of any of the Suns, and likewiſe raiſed themſelves to the dignity of men of rank.

Mean while thirty warriors brought in a priſoner, who had formerly been married to a female Sun; but, upon her death, inſtead of ſubmitting to die with her, had fled to New Orleans, and offered to become the hunter and ſlave of our commander in chief. The commander accepting his offer, and granting him his protection, he often viſited his countrymen, who, out of complaiſance to the commander, never offered to apprehend him: but that officer being now returned to France, and the runaway appearing in the neighbourhood, he was now apprehended, and numbered among the other victims. Finding himſelf thus unexpectedly trapped, he began to cry bitterly; but three old women, who were his relations, offering to die in his ſtead, he was not only again exempted from death, but raiſed to the dignity of a man of rank. Upon this he afterwards became inſolent, and profiting by what he had ſeen and learned at New Orleans, he eaſily, on many occaſions, made his fellow-countrymen his dupes.

On

On the day of the interment, the wife of the deceaſed made a very moving ſpeech to the French who were preſent, recommending her children, to whom ſhe alſo addreſſed herſelf, to their friendſhip, and adviſing a perpetual union between the two nations. Soon after the maſter of the ceremonies appeared in a red-feathered crown, which half encircled his head, having a red ſtaff in his hand in the form of a croſs, at the end of which hung a garland of black feathers. All the upper part of his body was painted red, excepting his arms, and from his girdle to his knees hung a fringe of feathers, the rows of which were alternately white and red. When he came before the hut of the deceaſed, he ſaluted him with a great *hoo*, and then began the cry of death, in which he was followed by the whole people. Immediately after the Stung Serpent was brought out on his bed of ſtate, and was placed on a litter, which ſix of the guardians of the temple bore on their ſhoulders. The proceſſion then began, the maſter of the ceremonies walking firſt, and after him the oldeſt warrior, holding in one hand the pole with the rings of canes, and in the other the pipe of war, a mark of the dignity of the deceaſed. Next followed the corpſe, after which came thoſe who were to die at the interment. The whole proceſſion went three times round the hut of the deceaſed, and then thoſe who carried the corpſe proceeded in a circular kind of march, every turn interſecting the former, until they came to the temple. At every turn the dead child was thrown by its parents before the bearers of the corpſe, that they might walk over it; and when the corpſe was placed in the temple the victims were immediately ſtrangled. The Stung Serpent and his two wives were buried in the ſame grave within the temple; the other victims were interred in different parts, and after the ceremony they burnt, according to cuſtom, the hut of the deceaſed.

SECT. V.

Of the Arts and Manufactures of the Natives.

THE arts and manufactures of the natives are ſo inſignificant, when compared with ours, that I ſhould not have thought of treating of them, if ſome perſons of diſtinction had not deſired me to ſay ſomething of them, in order to ſhew the induſtry of thoſe people, and how far invention could carry them, in ſupplying thoſe wants which human nature is continually expoſed to.

As they would have frequent occaſion for fire, the manner of lighting it at pleaſure muſt have been one of the firſt things that they invented. Not having thoſe means which we uſe, they bethought themſelves of another ingenious method which they generally practiſe. They take a dry dead ſtick from a tree, about the thickneſs of their finger, and preſſing one end againſt another dry piece of wood, they turn it round as ſwiftly as they can till they ſee the ſmoke appear, then blowing gently ſoon make the wood flame.

Cutting inſtruments are almoſt continually wanted; but as they had no iron, which, of all metals, is the moſt uſeful in human ſociety, they were obliged, with infinite pains, to form hatchets out of large flints, by ſharpening their thin edge, and making a hole through them for receiving the handle. To cut down trees with theſe axes would have been almoſt an impracticable work; they were therefore obliged to light fires round the roots of them, and to cut away the charcoal as the fire eat into the tree. They ſupplied the want of knives for cutting their victuals with thin ſplits of a hard cane, which they could eaſily renew as they wore out.

They made their bows of acacia wood, which is hard and eaſily cleft; and at firſt their bowſtrings were made of the bark of the wood, but now they make them of

the

the thongs of hides. Their arrows are made of a ſhrub that ſends out long ſtraight ſhoots; but they make ſome of ſmall hard reeds: thoſe that are intended for war, or againſt the buffalo, the deer, or large carp, are pointed with the ſharp ſcale of the armed fiſh, which is neatly faſtened to the head of the arrow with ſplits of cane and fiſh-glue.

The ſkins of the beaſts which they killed in hunting naturally preſented themſelves for their covering; but they muſt be dreſſed however before they could be properly uſed. After much practice they at length diſcovered that the brain of any animal ſuffices to dreſs its ſkin. To ſew thoſe ſkins they uſe the tendons of animals beat and ſplit into threads, and to pierce the ſkins they apply the bone of a heron's leg, ſharpened like an awl.

To defend themſelves againſt the inclemencies of the weather, they built huts of wood, which were cloſe and ſtrong enough to reſiſt the impetuoſity of the wind. Theſe huts are each a perfect ſquare; none of them are leſs than fifteen feet ſquare, and ſome of them are more than thirty feet in each of their fronts. They erect theſe huts in the following manner: they bring from the woods ſeveral young walnut-trees, about four inches in diameter, and thirteen or twenty feet high; they plant the ſtrongeſt of theſe in the four corners, and the others fifteen inches from each other in ſtraight lines, for the ſides of the building; a pole is then laid horizontally along the ſides in the inſide, and all the poles are ſtrongly faſtened to it by ſplit canes. Then the four corner poles are bent inwards till they all meet in the centre, where they are ſtrongly faſtened together; the ſide-poles are then bent in the ſame direction, and bound down to the others; after which they make a mortar of mud mixed with Spaniſh beard, with which they fill up all the chinks, leaving no opening but the door, and the mud they cover both outſide and inſide with mats made of the ſplits of

cane. The roof is thatched with turf and ſtraw intermixed, and over all is laid a mat of canes, which is faſtened to the tops of the walls by the creeping plant. Theſe huts will laſt twenty years without any repairs.

The natives having once built for themſelves fixed habitations, would next apply themſelves to the cultivation of the ground. Accordingly, near all their habitations, they have fields of maiz, and of another nouriſhing grain called Choupichoul, which grows without culture. For dreſſing their fields they invented hoes, which are formed in the ſhape of an L, having the lower part flat and ſharp; and to take the huſk from their corn they made large wooden mortars, by hollowing the trunks of trees with fire.

To prepare their maiz for food, and likewiſe their veniſon and game, there was a neceſſity for dreſſing them over the fire, and for this purpoſe they bethought themſelves of earthen ware, which is made by the women, who not only form the veſſel, but dig up and mix the clay. In this they are tolerable artiſts; they make kettles of an extraordinary ſize, pitchers with a ſmall opening, gallon bottles with long necks, pots or pitchers for their bear oil, which will hold forty pints; laſtly, large and ſmall plates in the French faſhion: I had ſome made out of curioſity upon the model of my delf-ware, which were a very pretty red. For ſifting the flour of their maiz, and for other uſes, the natives make ſieves of various fineneſſes of the ſplits of cane. To ſupply themſelves with fiſh they make nets of the bark of the lime-tree; but the large fiſh they ſhoot with arrows.

The beds of the natives are placed round the ſides of their huts, about a foot and a half from the ground, and are formed in this manner. Six forked ſtakes ſupport two poles, which are croſſed by three others, over which canes are laid ſo cloſe as to form an even ſurface, and upon theſe are laid ſeveral bear ſkins, which ſerve for the

bed

bed furniture; a buffalo's ſkin is the coverlet, and a ſack ſtuft with Spaniſh beard is the bolſter. The women ſometimes add to this furniture of the bed mats wove of canes, dyed of three colours, which colours in the weaving are formed into various figures. Theſe mats render the bottom of the bed ſtill ſmoother, and in hot weather they remove the bear ſkins and lie upon them. Their ſeats or ſtools, which they ſeldom uſe, are about ſix or ſeven inches high, and the ſeat and feet are made of the ſame piece.

The women likewiſe make a kind of hampers to carry corn, fleſh, fiſh, or any other thing which they want to tranſport from one place to another; they are round, deeper than broad, and of all ſizes. Here, as well as in other countries, the women take ſpecial care to lay up ſecurely all their trinkets and finery. They make baſkets with long lids that roll doubly over them, and in theſe they place their ear-rings and pendants, their bracelets, garters, their ribbands for their hair, and their vermilion for painting themſelves, if they have any, but when they have no vermilion they boil ochre, and paint themſelves with that.

The women alſo make the mens girdles and garters, and the collars for carrying their burdens. Theſe collars are formed of two belts of the breadth of the hand of bear's ſkin, dreſſed ſo as to ſoften it, and theſe belts are joined together by long croſs ſtraps of the ſame leather, that ſerve to tie the bundles, which are oftener carried by the women than the men. One of the broad belts goes over their ſhoulders, and the other acroſs their forehead, ſo that thoſe two parts mutually eaſe each other.

The women alſo make ſeveral works in embroidery with the ſkin of the porcupine, which is black and white, and is cut by them into thin threads, which they dye of different colours. Their deſigns greatly reſemble thoſe which we meet with on gothic architecture; they are formed

formed of ſtraight lines, which when they meet always croſs each other, or turn off at ſquare angles.

The conveniencies for paſſing rivers would ſoon be ſuggeſted to them by the floating of wood upon the water. Accordingly one of their methods of croſſing rivers is upon floats of canes, which are called by them Cajeu, and are formed in this manner: They cut a great number of canes, which they tie up into faggots, part of which they faſten together ſideways, and over theſe they lay a row croſsways, binding all cloſe together, and then launching it into the water. For carrying a great number of men with their neceſſary baggage, they ſoon found it neceſſary to have other conveniencies; and nothing appeared ſo proper for this as ſome of their large trees hollowed; of theſe they accordingly made their pettyaugres, which as I mentioned above are ſometimes ſo large as to carry ten or twelve ton weight. Theſe pettyaugres are conducted by ſhort oars, called Pagaies, about ſix feet long, with broad points, which are not faſtened to the veſſel, but managed by the rowers like ſhovels.

SECT. VI.

Of the Attire and Diverſions of the Natives: Of their Meals and Faſtings.

THE natives of Louiſiana, both men and women, wear a very thin dreſs in the ſummer. During the heat the men wear only a little apron of deer ſkin, dreſſed white or dyed black; but hardly any but chiefs wear black aprons. Thoſe who live in the neighbourhood of the French ſettlements wear aprons of coarſe limbourgs, a quarter of a yard broad, and the whole breadth of the cloth, or five quarters long; theſe aprons are faſtened by a girdle about their waiſts, and are tucked up between the thighs.

During

During the heats the women wear only half a yard of limbourg ſtuff about their middle, which covers them down to the knees; or in place of that they uſe deer ſkin; and the reſt of the body both in men and women is naked.

Many of the women wear cloaks of the bark of the mulberry-tree, or of the feathers of ſwans, turkies, or India ducks. The bark they take from young mulberry ſhoots that riſe from the roots of trees that have been cut down; after it is dried in the ſun they beat it to make all the woody part fall off, and they give the threads that remain a ſecond beating, after which they bleach them by expoſing them to the dew. When they are well whitened they ſpin them about the coarſeneſs of pack-thread, and weave them in the following manner: they plant two ſtakes in the ground about a yard and a half aſunder, and having ſtretched a cord from the one to the other, they faſten their threads of bark double to this cord, and then interweave them in a curious manner into a cloak of about a yard ſquare with a wrought border round the edges.

The young boys and girls go quite naked; but the girls at the age of eight or ten put on a little petticoat, which is a kind of fringe made of threads of mulberry bark. The boys do not wear any covering till they are twelve or thirteen years of age.

Some women even in hot weather have a ſmall cloak wrapt round like a waiſtcoat; but when the cold ſets in, they wear a ſecond, the middle of which paſſes under the right arm, and the two ends are faſtened over the left ſhoulder, ſo that the two arms are at liberty, and one of the breaſts is covered. They wear nothing on their heads; their hair is ſuffered to grow to its full length, except in the fore-part, and it is tied in a cue behind in a kind of net made of mulberry threads. They carefully pick out all the hairs that grow upon any part of their body.

The ſhoes of the men and women are of the ſame faſhion, but they rarely wear any but when they travel. They are made of deer-ſkin, the ſole and upper-leather of the ſame piece, which is ſewed together on the upper part of the foot; they are cut about three inches longer than the foot, and are folded over the toes; the quarters are about nine inches high, and faſten round the leg like a buſkin. The womens ear-rings are made of the center part of a large ſhell, called burgo, which is about the thickneſs of one's little finger, and there is a hole in the ear about that ſize for holding it. Their necklaces are compoſed of ſeveral ſtrings of longiſh or roundiſh kernel-ſtones, ſomewhat reſembling porcelaine; and with the ſmalleſt of theſe kernel-ſtones they ornament their furs, garters, &c.

From their early youth the women get a ſtreak pricked croſs their noſe; ſome of them have a ſtreak pricked down the middle of their chin; others in different parts, eſpecially the women of the nations who have the R in their language. I have ſeen ſome who were pricked all over the upper part of the body, not even excepting the breaſts which are extremely ſenſible.

In the cold weather the men cover themſelves with a ſhirt made of two dreſſed deer-ſkins, which is more like a fur night-gown than a ſhirt: they likewiſe, at the ſame time, wear a kind of breeches, which cover both the thighs and the legs. If the weather be very ſevere, they throw over all a buffalo's ſkin, which is dreſſed with the wool on, and this they keep next to their body to increaſe the warmth. In the countries where they hunt beavers, they make robes of ſix ſkins of thoſe animals ſewed together.

The youths here are as much taken up about dreſs, and as fond of vying with each other in finery as in other countries; they paint themſelves with vermilion very often; they deck themſelves with bracelets made of the ribs of deer, which are bent by the means of boiling water,

water, and when poliſhed, look as fine as ivory; they wear necklaces like the women, and ſometimes have a fan in their hand; they clip off the hair from the crown of the head, and there place a piece of ſwan's ſkin with the down on; to a few hairs that they leave on that part they faſten the fineſt white feathers that they can meet with; a part of their hair which is ſuffered to grow long, they weave into a cue, which hangs over their left ear.

They likewiſe have their noſe pricked, but no other part till they are warriors, and have performed ſome brave action, ſuch as killing an enemy, and bringing off his ſcalp. Thoſe who have ſignalized themſelves by ſome gallant exploit, cauſe a tomahawk to be pricked on their left ſhoulder, underneath which is alſo pricked the hieroglyphic ſign of the conquered nation. Whatever figure they intend to prick, is firſt traced on the ſkin with a bit of charcoal, and having fixed ſix needles in a piece of wood in two rows, in ſuch a manner that they only ſtick out about the tenth part of an inch, they prick the ſkin all over the mark, and then rub charcoal duſt over the part, which enters the punctures, and leaves a mark that can never be effaced. This pricking generally gives a fit of ſickneſs to the patient, who is obliged for ſome time to live only on boiled maiz. The warriors alſo pierce the lower part of their ears, and make a hole an inch diameter, which they fill with iron wire. Beſides theſe ear-rings they have a belt hung round with little bells, if they can purchaſe any from the French, ſo that they march more like mules than men. When they can get no bells, they faſten to their belts wild gourds with two or three pebbles in each. The chief ornament of the ſovereigns, is their crown of feathers; this crown is compoſed of a black bonnet of net work, which is faſtened to a red diadem about two inches broad. The diadem is embroidered with white kernel-ſtones, and ſurmounted with white feathers, which in the fore-part are about eight

eight inches long, and half as much behind. This crown or feather hat makes a very pleaſing appearance.

All nations are not equally ingenious at inventing feaſts, ſhews, and diverſions, for employing the people agreeably, and filling up the void of their uſual employments. The natives of Louiſiana have invented but a very few diverſions, and theſe perhaps ſerve their turn as well as a greater variety would do. The warriors practiſe a diverſion which is called the game of *the pole*, at which only two play together at a time. Each has a pole about eight feet long, reſembling a Roman f, and the game conſiſts in rolling a flat round ſtone, about three inches diameter and an inch thick, with the edge ſomewhat ſloping, and throwing the pole at the ſame time in ſuch a manner, that when the ſtone reſts, the pole may touch it or be near it. Both antagoniſts throw their poles at the ſame time, and he whoſe pole is neareſt the ſtone counts one, and has the right of rolling the ſtone. The men fatigue themſelves much at this game, as they run after their poles at every throw; and ſome of them are ſo bewitched by it, that they game away one piece of furniture after another. Theſe gameſters however are very rare, and are greatly diſcountenanced by the reſt of the people.

The women play with ſmall bits of cane, about eight or nine inches long. Three of theſe they hold looſely in one hand, and knock them to the ground with another; if two of them fall with the round ſide undermoſt, ſhe that played counts one; but if only one, ſhe counts nothing. They are aſhamed to be ſeen or found playing; and as far as I could diſcover, they never played for any ſtake.

The young people, eſpecially the girls, have hardly any kind of diverſion but that of the ball: this conſiſts in toſſing a ball from one to the other with the palm of the hand, which they perform with a tolerable addreſs.

When the natives meet with a Frenchman whom they know, they ſhake hands with him, incline their head a little,

little, and ſay in their own language, "Are you there, my friend?" If he has no ſerious affair to propoſe to them, or if they themſelves have nothing of conſequence to ſay, they purſue their journey.

If they happen to be going the ſame way with a Frenchman, they never go before him, unleſs ſomething of conſequence oblige them. When you enter into their hut, they welcome you with the word of ſalutation, which ſignifies "Are you there, my friend?" then ſhake hands with you, and pointing to a bed, deſire you to ſit down. A ſilence of a few minutes then enſues till the ſtranger begins to ſpeak, when he is offered ſome victuals, and deſired to eat. You muſt taſte of what they offer you, otherwiſe they will imagine that you deſpiſe them.

When the natives converſe together, however numerous the aſſembly be, never more than one perſon ſpeaks at once. If one of the company has any thing to ſay to another, he ſpeaks ſo low that none of the reſt hear him. Nobody is interrupted, even with the chiding of a child; and if the child be ſtubborn, it is removed elſewhere. In the council, when a point is deliberated upon and debated, they keep ſilence for a ſhort time, and then they ſpeak in their turns, no one offering to interrupt another.

The natives being habituated to their own prudent cuſtom, it is with the utmoſt difficulty they can keep from laughing, when they ſee ſeveral French men or French women together, and always ſeveral of them ſpeaking at the ſame time. I had obſerved them for two years ſtifling a laugh on thoſe occaſions, and had often aſked the reaſon of it, without receiving any ſatisfactory anſwer. At length I preſſed one of them ſo earneſtly to ſatisfy me, that after ſome excuſes, he told me in their language, "Our people ſay, that when ſeveral Frenchmen are together, they ſpeak all at once, like a flock of geeſe."

All the nations whom I have known, and who inhabit from the ſea as far as the Illinois, and even farther, which

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is a ſpace of about fifteen hundred miles, carefully cultivate the maiz corn, which they make their principal ſubſiſtence. They make bread of it baked in cakes, another kind baked among the aſhes, and another kind in water; they make of it alſo cold meal, roaſted meal, gruel, which in this country is called Sagamity. This and the cold meal in my opinion are the two beſt diſhes that are made of it; the others are only for a change. They eat the Sagamity as we eat ſoup, with a ſpoon made of a buffalo's horn. When they eat fleſh or fiſh they uſe bread. They likewiſe uſe two kinds of millet, which they ſhell in the manner of rice; one of theſe is called Choupichoul, and the other Widlogouil, and they both grow almoſt without any cultivation.

In a ſcarcity of theſe kinds of corn, they have recourſe to earth-nuts, which they find in the woods; but they never uſe theſe or cheſnuts but when neceſſity obliges them.

The fleſh-meats they uſually eat are the buffalo, the deer, the bear, and the dog: they eat of all kind of water-fowl and fiſh; but they have no other way of dreſſing their meat but by roaſting or boiling. The following is their manner of roaſting their meat when they are in the fields hunting: they plant a ſtake in the ground ſloping towards the fire, and on the point of this ſtake they ſpit their meat, which they turn from time to time. To preſerve what they do not uſe, they cut it into thin pieces, which they dry, or rather half-roaſt, upon a grate made of canes placed croſs-ways. They never eat raw fleſh, as ſo many people have falſely imagined, and they limit themſelves to no ſet hours for their meals, but eat whenever they are hungry; ſo that we ſeldom ſee ſeveral of them eating at once, unleſs at their feaſts, when they all eat off the ſame plate, except the women, the boys, and the young girls, who have each a plate to themſelves.

When the natives are ſick, they neither eat fleſh nor fiſh, but take Sagamity boiled in the broth of meat.

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When a man falls ſick, his wife ſleeps with the woman in the next bed to him, and the huſband of that woman goes elſewhere. The natives, when they eat with Frenchmen, taſte of nothing but of pure roaſt and boiled: they eat no ſallad, and nothing raw but fruit. Their drink is pure water or pure brandy, but they diſlike wine and all made liquors.

Having mentioned their manner of feeding, I ſhall ſay a word or two of their manner of faſting. When they want rain, or when they deſire hot weather for ripening their corn, they addreſs themſelves to the old man who has the greateſt character for living wiſely, and they intreat him to invoke the aerial ſpirits, in order to obtain what they demand. This old man, who never refuſes his countrymen's requeſt, prepares to faſt for nine days together. He orders his wife to withdraw, and during the whole time he eats nothing but a diſh of gruel boiled in water, without ſalt, which is brought him once a day by his wife after ſun-ſet. They never will accept of any reward for this ſervice, that the ſpirits may not be angry with them.

SECT. VII.

Of the Indian *Art of War.*

I Will now preſent the reader with their manner of making war, which is uniformly the ſame among all the nations. When one nation intends to make war upon another in all the forms, they hold a council of war, which is compoſed of the oldeſt and braveſt warriors. It is to be ſuppoſed that this nation has been inſulted, that the other has committed ſome hoſtilities againſt it, or that they have diſturbed them in their hunting country, coming thither to ſteal their game, as they call it. There is always ſome pretence for declaring war; and this pretence, whether true or falſe, is explained by the war-chief, who omits no circumſtance that may excite his nation to take up arms.

After he has explained the reaſons for the war, the old men debate the queſtion in preſence of the great chief or ſovereign of the nation. This ſovereign and the great chief of war are only witneſſes of the debate; for the opinion of the old men always prevails, and the two chiefs voluntarily agree to it, from their reſpect and their great regard for the experience and wiſdom of thoſe venerable counſellors.

If it is reſolved to demand from the other nation the reaſon of the hoſtilities committed by them, they name one of their braveſt and moſt eloquent warriors, as a ſecond to their ſpeech-maker or chancellor, who is to carry the pipe of peace, and addreſs that nation. Theſe two are accompanied by a troop of the braveſt warriors, ſo that the embaſſy has the appearance of a warlike expedition; and, if ſatisfaction is not given, ſometimes ends in one. The ambaſſadors carry no preſents with them, to ſhew that they do not intend to ſupplicate or beg a peace: they take with them only the pipe of peace, as a proof that they come as friends. The embaſſy is always well received, entertained in the beſt manner, and kept as long as poſſible; and if the other nation is not inclined to begin a war, they make very large preſents to the ambaſſadors, and all their retinue, to make up for the loſſes which their nation complains of.

If a nation begins actual hoſtilities without any formalities, the nation invaded is generally aſſiſted by ſeveral allies, keeps itſelf on the defenſive, gives orders to thoſe who live at a great diſtance to join the main body of the nation, prepares logs for building a fort, and every morning ſends ſome warriors out upon the ſcout, chooſing for that purpoſe thoſe who truſt more to their heels than their heart.

The aſſiſtance of the allies is generally ſolicited by the pipe of peace, the ſtalk of which is about four feet and a half long, and is covered all over with the ſkin of a duck's neck, the feathers of which are gloſſy and of various colours.

colours. To this pipe is faſtened a fan made of the feathers of white eagles, the ends of which are black, and are ornamented with a tuft dyed a beautiful red.

When the allies are aſſembled a general council is held in preſence of the ſovereign, and is compoſed of the great war-chief, the war-chiefs of the allies, and all the old warriors. The great war-chief opens the aſſembly with a ſpeech, in which he exhorts them to take vengeance of the inſults they have received; and after the point is debated, and the war agreed upon, all the warriors go a hunting to procure game for the war-feaſt, which, as well as the war-dance, laſts three days.

The natives diſtinguiſh the warriors into three claſſes, namely, true warriors, who have always given proofs of their courage; common warriors, and apprentice-warriors. They likewiſe divide our military men into the two claſſes of true warriors and young warriors. By the former they mean the ſettlers, of whom the greateſt part, upon their arrival, were ſoldiers, who being now perfectly acquainted with the tricks and wiles of the natives, practiſe them upon their enemy, whom they do not greatly fear. The young warriors are the ſoldiers of the regular troops, as the companies are generally compoſed of young men, who are ignorant of the ſtratagems uſed by the natives in time of war.

When the war-feaſt is ready the warriors repair to it, painted from head to foot with ſtripes of different colours. They have nothing on but their belt, from whence hangs their apron, their bells, or their rattling gourds, and their tomahawk. In their right hand they have a bow, and thoſe of the north in their left carry a buckler formed of two round pieces of buffalo's hide ſewed together.

The feaſt is kept in a meadow, the graſs of which is mowed to a great extent; there the diſhes, which are of hollow wood, are placed round in circles of about twelve or fifteen feet diameter, and the number of thoſe circular

tables is proportioned to the largeneſs of the aſſembly, in the midſt of whom is placed the pipe of war upon the end of a pole ſeven or eight feet high. At the foot of this pole, in the middle of a circle, is placed the chief diſh of all, which is a large dog roaſted whole; the other plates are ranged circularly by threes; one of theſe contains maiz boiled in broth like gruel, another roaſted deer's fleſh, and the other boiled. They all begin with eating of the dog, to denote their fidelity and attachment to their chief; but before they taſte of any thing, an old warrior, who, on account of his great age, is not able to accompany the reſt to the war, makes an harangue to the warriors, and by recounting his own exploits, excites them to act with bravery againſt the enemy. All the warriors then, according to their rank, ſmoke in the pipe of war, after which they begin their repaſt; but while they eat, they keep walking continually, to ſignify that a warrior ought to be always in action and upon his guard.

While they are thus employed, one of the young men goes behind a buſh about two hundred paces off, and raiſes the cry of death. Inſtantly all the warriors ſeize their arms, and run to the place whence the cry comes; and when they are near it the young warrior ſhews himſelf again, raiſes the cry of death, and is anſwered by all the reſt, who then return to the feaſt, and take up the victuals which in their hurry they had thrown upon the ground. The ſame alarm is given two other times, and the warriors each time act as at firſt. The war drink then goes round, which is a heady liquor drawn from the leaves of the Caſſine after they have been a long while boiled. The feaſt being finiſhed, they all aſſemble about fifty paces from a large poſt, which repreſents the enemy; and this each of them in his turn runs up to, and ſtrikes with his tomahawk, recounting at the ſame time all his former brave exploits, and ſometimes boaſting of valorous deeds that he never performed. But they have the complaiſance to each other to pardon this gaſconading.

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All of them having ſucceſſively ſtruck the poſt, they begin the dance of war with their arms in their hands; and this dance and the war-feaſt are celebrated for three days together, after which they ſet out for the war. The women ſome time before are employed in preparing victuals for their huſbands, and the old men in engraving upon bark the hieroglyphic ſign of the nation that attacks, and of their number of warriors.

Their manner of making war is to attack by ſurprize; accordingly, when they draw near to any of the enemy's villages, they march only in the night; and that they may not be diſcovered, raiſe up the graſs over which they trod. One half of the warriors watch, while the other half ſleep in the thickeſt and moſt unfrequented part of the wood.

If any of their ſcouts can diſcover a hut of the enemy detached from the reſt, they all ſurround it about day-break, and ſome of the warriors entering, endeavour to knock the people on the head as they awake, or take ſome man priſoner. Having ſcalped the dead, they carry off the women and children priſoners, and place againſt a tree near the hut the hieroglyphic picture, before which they plant two arrows with their points croſſing each other. Inſtantly they retreat into the woods, and make great turnings to conceal their route.

The women and children whom they take priſoners are made ſlaves. But if they take a man priſoner the joy is univerſal, and the glory of their nation is at its height. The warriors, when they draw near to their own villages after an expedition, raiſe the cry of war three times ſucceſſively; and if they have a man priſoner with them, immediately go and look for three poles to torture him upon; which, however weary or hungry they be, muſt be provided before they take any refreſhment. When they have provided thoſe poles, and tied the priſoner to them, they may then go and take ſome victuals. The

poles are about ten feet long; two of them are planted upright in the ground at a proper diſtance, and the other is cut through in the middle, and the two pieces are faſtened croſs-ways to the other two, ſo that they form a ſquare about five feet every way. The priſoner being firſt ſcalped by the perſon who took him, is tied to this ſquare, his hands to the upper part, and his feet to the lower, in ſuch a manner that he forms the figure of a St. Andrew's croſs. The young men in the mean time having prepared ſeveral bundles of canes, ſet fire to them; and ſeveral of the warriors taking thoſe flaming canes, burn the priſoner in different parts of his body, while others burn him in other parts with their tobacco-pipes. The patience of priſoners in thoſe miſerable circumſtances is altogether aſtoniſhing. No cries or lamentations proceed from them; and ſome have been known to ſuffer tortures, and ſing for three days and nights without intermiſſion. Sometimes it happens that a young woman who has loſt her huſband in the war, aſks the priſoner to ſupply the room of the deceaſed, and her requeſt is immediately granted.

I mentioned above that when one nation declares war againſt another, they leave a picture near one of their villages. That picture is deſigned in the following manner. On the top towards the right hand is the hieroglyphic ſign of the nation that declares war; next is a naked man with a tomahawk in his hand; and then an arrow pointed againſt a woman, who is flying away, her hair floating behind her in the air; immediately before this woman is the proper emblem of the nation againſt whom the war is declared. All this is on one line; and below is drawn the figure of the moon, which is followed by one I, or more; and a man is here repreſented, before whom is a number of arrows which ſeem to pierce a woman who is running away. By this is denoted, when ſuch a moon is ſo many days old, they will come in great numbers and attack ſuch a nation; but this lower part of the picture does not always carry true intelligence. The nation that has

has offered the inſult, or commenced hoſtilities wrongfully, rarely finds any allies even among thoſe nations who call them brothers.

In carrying on a war they have no ſuch thing as pitched battles, or carrying on of ſieges; all the miſchief they do each other, is by ſurpriſe and ſkirmiſhing, and in this their courage and addreſs conſiſts. Among them flight is no ways ſhameful; their bravery lies often in their legs; and to kill a man aſleep or at unawares, is quite as honourable among them, as to gain a ſignal victory after a ſtout battle.

When a nation is too weak to defend itſelf in the field, they endeavour to protect themſelves by a fort. This fort is built circularly of two rows of large logs of wood, the logs of the inner row being oppoſite to the joining of the logs of the outer row. Theſe logs are about fifteen feet long, five feet of which are ſunk in the ground. The outer logs are about two feet thick, and the inner about half as much. At every forty paces along the wall a circular tower jets out; and at the entrance of the fort, which is always next to the river, the two ends of the wall paſs beyond each other, and leave a ſide opening. In the middle of the fort ſtands a tree with its branches lopt off within ſix or eight inches of the trunk, and this ſerves for a watch-tower. Round this tree are ſome huts, for the protection of the women and children from random arrows; but notwithſtanding all theſe precautions for defence, if the beſieged are but hindered from coming out to water, they are ſoon obliged to retire.

When a nation finds itſelf no longer able to oppoſe its enemy, the chiefs ſend a pipe of peace to a neutral nation, and ſolicit their mediation, which is generally ſucceſsful, the vanquiſhed nation ſheltering themſelves under the name of the mediators, and for the future making but one nation with them.

Here it may be obſerved that when they go to attack others, it ſometimes happens that they loſe ſome of their own warriors. In that caſe, they immediately, if poſſible, ſcalp their dead friends, to hinder the enemy from having that ſubject of triumph. Moreover, when they return home, whether as victors or otherwiſe, the great war-chief pays to the reſpective families for thoſe whom he does not bring back with him; which renders the chiefs very careful of the lives of their warriors.

CHAP. IV.

Of the Negroes of Louiſiana.

SECT. I.

Of the Choice of Negroes; of their Diſtempers, and the Manner of curing them.

HAVING finiſhed my account of the natives of Louiſiana, I ſhall conclude this treatiſe with ſome obſervations relating to the negroes; who, in the lower part of the province eſpecially, perform all the labours of agriculture. On that account I have thought proper to give ſome inſtructions concerning them, for the benefit of thoſe who are inclined to ſettle in that province.

The negroes muſt be governed differently from the Europeans; not becauſe they are black, nor becauſe they are ſlaves; but becauſe they think differently from the white men.

Firſt, they imbibe a prejudice from their infancy, that the white men buy them for no other purpoſe but to drink their blood; which is owing to this, that when the firſt negroes ſaw the Europeans drink claret, they imagined it was

was blood, as that wine is of a deep red colour; ſo that nothing but the actual experience of the contrary can eradicate the falſe opinion. But as none of thoſe ſlaves who have had that experience ever return to their own country, the ſame prejudice continues to ſubſiſt on the coaſt of Guinea where we purchaſe them. Some who are ſtrangers to the manner of thinking that prevails among the negroes, may perhaps think that the above remark is of no conſequence, in reſpect to thoſe ſlaves who are already ſold to the French. There have been inſtances however of bad conſequences flowing from this prejudice; eſpecially if the negroes found no old ſlave of their own country upon their firſt arrival in our colonies. Some of them have killed or drowned themſelves, ſeveral of them have deſerted (which they call making themſelves Marons) and all this from an apprehenſion that the white men were going to drink their blood. When they deſert they believe they can get back to their own country by going round the ſea, and may live in the woods upon the fruits, which they imagine are as common every where as with them.

They are very ſuperſtitious, and are much attached to their prejudices, and little toys which they call *gris, gris.* It would be improper therefore to take them from them, or even ſpeak of them to them; for they would believe themſelves undone, if they were ſtripped of thoſe trinkets. The old negroes ſoon make them loſe conceit of them.

The firſt thing you ought to do when you purchaſe negroes, is to cauſe them to be examined by a ſkilful ſurgeon and an honeſt man, to diſcover if they have the venereal or any other diſtemper. When they are viewed, both men and women are ſtripped naked as the hand, and are carefully examined from the crown of the head to the ſole of the feet, then between the toes and between the fingers, in the mouth, in the ears, not excepting even the

parts

parts naturally concealed, though then expoſed to view. You muſt aſk your examining ſurgeon if he is acquainted with the diſtemper of the yaws, which is the virus of Guinea, and incurable by a great many French ſurgeons, though very ſkilful in the management of European diſtempers. Be careful not to be deceived in this point; for your ſurgeon may be deceived himſelf; therefore attend at the examination yourſelf, and obſerve carefully over all the body of the negro, whether you can diſcover any parts of the ſkin, which though black like the reſt, are however as ſmooth as a looking-glaſs, without any tumor or riſing. Such ſpots may be eaſily diſcovered; for the ſkin of a perſon who goes naked is uſually all over wrinkles. Wherefore if you ſee ſuch marks you muſt reject the negro, whether man or woman. There are always experienced ſurgeons at the ſale of new negroes, who purchaſe them; and many of thoſe ſurgeons have made fortunes by that means; but they generally keep their ſecret to themſelves.

Another mortal diſtemper with which many negroes from Guinea are attacked, is the ſcurvy. It diſcovers itſelf by the gums, but ſometimes it is ſo inveterate as to appear outwardly, in which caſe it is generally fatal. If any of my readers ſhall have the misfortune to have a negro attacked with one of thoſe diſtempers, I will now teach him how to ſave him, by putting him in a way of being radically cured by the ſurgeons; for I have no inclination to fall out with thoſe gentlemen. I learned this ſecret from a negro phyſician, who was upon the king's plantation, when I took the ſuperintendance of it.

You muſt never put an iron inſtrument into the yaw; ſuch an application would be certain death. In order to open the yaw, you take iron ruſt reduced to an impalpable powder, and paſſed through a fine ſearch; you afterwards mix that powder with citron juice till it be of the conſiſtence of an ointment, which you ſpread upon a linen cloth greaſed with hog's greaſe, or freſh lard without

out ſalt, for want of a better. You lay the plaiſter upon the yaw, and renew it evening and morning, which will open the yaw in a very ſhort time without any inciſion.

The opening being once made, you take about the bulk of a gooſe's egg of hog's lard without ſalt, in which you incorporate about an ounce of good terebinthine; after which take a quantity of powdered verdigris, and ſoak it half a day in good vinegar, which you muſt then pour off gently with all the ſcum that floats at top. Drop a cloth all over with the verdigris that remains, and upon that apply your laſt ointment. All theſe operations are performed without the aſſiſtance of fire. The whole ointment being well mixed with a ſpatula, you dreſs the yaw with it; after that put your negro into a copious ſweat, and he will be cured. Take ſpecial care that your ſurgeon uſes no mercurial medicine, as I have ſeen; for that will occaſion the death of the patient.

The ſcurvy is no leſs to be dreaded than the yaws; nevertheleſs you may get the better of it, by adhering exactly to the following preſcription: take ſome ſcurvy-graſs, if you have any plants of it, ſome ground-ivy, called by ſome St. John's wort, ſome water-creſſes from a ſpring or brook, and for want of that, wild creſſes; take theſe three herbs, or the two laſt, if you have no ſcurvy-graſs; pound them, and mix them with citron-juice, to make of them a ſoft paſte, which the patient muſt keep upon both his gums till they be clean, at all times but when he is eating. In the mean while he muſt be ſuffered to drink nothing but an infuſion of the herbs above named. You pound two handfuls of them, roots and all, after waſhing off any earth that may be upon the roots or leaves; to theſe you join a freſh citron, cut into ſlices. Having pounded all together, you then ſteep them in an earthen pan in a pint of pure water of the meaſure of Paris; after that you add about the ſize of a walnut of powdered and purified ſaltpetre, and to make it a little reliſhing

reliſhing to the negro, you add ſome powder ſugar. After the water has ſtood one night, you ſqueeze out the herbs pretty ſtrongly. The whole is performed cold, or without fire. Such is the doſe for a bottle of water Paris meaſure; but as the patient ought to drink two pints a day, you may make ſeveral pints at a time in the above proportion.

In theſe two diſtempers the patients muſt be ſupported with good nouriſhment, and made to ſweat copiouſly. It would be a miſtake to think that they ought to be kept to a ſpare diet; you muſt give them nouriſhing food, but a little at a time. A negro can no more than any other perſon ſupport remedies upon bad food, and ſtill leſs upon a ſpare diet; but the quantity muſt be proportioned to the ſtate of the patient, and the nature of the diſtemper. Beſides, good food makes the beſt part of the remedy to thoſe who in common are but poorly fed. The negro who taught me theſe two remedies, obſerving the great care I took of both the negro men and negro women, taught me likewiſe the cure of all the diſtempers to which the women are ſubject; for the negro women are as liable to diſeaſes as the white women.

SECT. II.

Of the Manner of governing the Negroes.

WHEN a negro man or woman comes home to you, it is proper to careſs them, to give them ſomething good to eat, with a glaſs of brandy; it is beſt to dreſs them the ſame day, to give them ſomething to ſleep on, and a covering. I ſuppoſe the others have been treated in the ſame manner; for thoſe marks of humanity flatter them, and attach them to their maſters. If they are fatigued or weakened by a journey, or by any diſtempers, make them work little; but keep them always buſy as long as they are able to do any thing, never ſuffering them

them to be idle, but when they are at their meals. Take care of them when they are ſick, and give attention both to their remedies and their food, which laſt ought then to be more nouriſhing than what they uſually ſubſiſt upon. It is your intereſt ſo to do, both for their preſervation, and to attach them more cloſely to you; for though many Frenchmen ſay that negroes are ungrateful, I have experienced that it is very eaſy to render them much attached to you by good treatment, and by doing them juſtice, as I ſhall mention afterwards.

If a negro woman lies-in, cauſe her to be taken care of in every thing that her condition makes neceſſary, and let your wife, if you have one, not diſdain to take the immediate care of her herſelf, or at leaſt have an eye over her.

A Chriſtian ought to take care that the children be baptiſed and inſtructed, ſince they have an immortal ſoul. The mother ought then to receive half a ration more than uſual, and a quart of milk a day, to aſſiſt her to nurſe her child.

Prudence requires that your negroes be lodged at a proper diſtance, to prevent them from being troubleſome or offenſive; but at the ſame time near enough for your conveniently obſerving what paſſes among them. When I ſay that they ought not to be placed ſo near your habitation as to be offenſive, I mean by that the ſmell which is natural to ſome nations of negroes, ſuch as the Congos, the Angolas, the Aradas, and others. On this account it is proper to have in their camp a bathing place formed by thick planks, buried in the earth about a foot or a foot and a half at moſt, and never more water in it than about that depth, for fear leſt the children ſhould drown themſelves in it; it ought likewiſe to have an edge, that the little children may not have acceſs to it, and there ought to be a pond without the camp to ſupply it with water and keep fiſh. The negro camp ought to be incloſed all round with

with paliſades, and to have a door to ſhut with a lock and key. The huts ought to be detached from each other, for fear of fire, and to be built in direct lines, both for the ſake of neatneſs, and in order to know eaſily the hut of each negro. But that you may be as little incommoded as poſſible with their natural ſmell, you muſt have the precaution to place the negro camp to the north or north-eaſt of your houſe, as the winds that blow from theſe quarters are not ſo warm as the others, and it is only when the negroes are warm that they ſend forth a diſagreeable ſmell.

The negroes that have the worſt ſmell are thoſe that are the leaſt black; and what I have ſaid of their bad ſmell, ought to warn you to keep always on the windward ſide of them when you viſit them at their work; never to ſuffer them to come near your children, who, excluſive of the bad ſmell, can learn nothing good from them, either as to morals, education, or language.

From what I have ſaid, I conclude that a French father and his wife are great enemies to their poſterity when they give their children ſuch nurſes. For the milk being the pureſt blood of the woman, one muſt be a ſtep-mother indeed to give her child to a negro nurſe in ſuch a country as Louiſiana, where the mother has all conveniencies of being ſerved, of accommodating and carrying their children, who by that means may be always under their eyes. The mother then has nothing elſe to do but to give the breaſt to her child.

I have no inclination to employ my pen in cenſuring the over-delicacy and ſelfiſhneſs of the women, who thus ſacrifice their children; it may, without further illuſtration, be eaſily perceived how much ſociety is intereſted in this affair. I ſhall only ſay, that for any kind of ſervice whatever about the houſe, I would adviſe no other kind of negroes, either young or old, but Senegals, called among themſelves Diolaufs, becauſe of all the negroes I have

known, theſe have the pureſt blood; they have more fidelity and a better underſtanding than the reſt, and are conſequently fitter for learning a trade, or for menial ſervices. It is true they are not ſo ſtrong as the others for the labours of the field, and for bearing the great heats.

The Senegals however are the blackeſt, and I never ſaw any who had a bad ſmell. They are very grateful; and when one knows how to attach them to him, they have been found to ſacrifice their own life to ſave that of their maſter. They are good commanders over other negroes, both on account of their fidelity and gratitude, and becauſe they ſeem to be born for commanding. As they are high-minded, they may be eaſily encouraged to learn a trade, or to ſerve in the houſe, by the diſtinction they will thereby acquire over the other negroes, and the neatneſs of dreſs which that condition will entitle them to.

When a ſettler wants to make a fortune, and manage his plantation with œconomy, he ought to prefer his intereſt to his pleaſure, and only take the laſt by ſnatches. He ought to be the firſt up and the laſt a-bed, that he may have an eye over every thing that paſſes in his plantation. It is certainly his intereſt that his negroes labour a good deal; but it ought to be an equal and moderate labour, for violent and continual labours would ſoon exhauſt and ruin them; whereas by keeping them always moderately employed, they neither exhauſt their ſtrength nor ruin their conſtitution. By this they are kept in good health, and labour longer, and with more good will: beſides, it muſt be allowed that the day is long enough for an aſſiduous labourer to deſerve the repoſe of the evening.

To accuſtom them to labour in this manner I obſerved the following method: I took care to provide one piece of work for them before another was done, and I informed their commander or driver in their preſence, that they might

might not loſe time, ſome in coming to aſk what they were to do, and others in waiting for an anſwer. Beſides I went ſeveral times a day to view them, by roads which they did not expect, pretending to be going a hunting or coming from it. If I obſerved them idle, I reprimanded them, and if when they ſaw me coming, they wrought too hard, I told them that they fatigued themſelves, and that they could not continue at ſuch hard labour during the whole day, without being haraſſed, which I did not want.

When I ſurpriſed them ſinging at their work, and perceived that they had diſcovered me, I ſaid to them chearfully, Courage, my boys, I love to ſee you merry at your work; but do not ſing ſo loud, that you may not fatigue yourſelves, and at night you ſhall have a cup of Taſia (or rum) to give you ſtrength and ſpirits. One cannot believe the effect ſuch a diſcourſe would have upon their ſpirits, which was eaſily diſcernible from the chearfulneſs upon their countenances, and their ardour at work.

If it be neceſſary not to paſs over any eſſential fault in the negroes, it is no leſs neceſſary never to puniſh them but when they have deſerved it, after a ſerious enquiry and examination ſupported by an abſolute certainty, unleſs you happen to catch them in the fact. But when you are fully convinced of the crime, by no means pardon them upon any aſſurances or proteſtations of theirs, or upon the ſolicitations of others; but puniſh them in proportion to the fault they have done, yet always with humanity, that they may themſelves be brought to confeſs that they have deſerved the puniſhment they have received. A Chriſtian is unworthy of that name when he puniſhes with cruelty, as is done to my knowledge in a certain colony, to ſuch a degree that they entertain their gueſts with ſuch ſpectacles, which have more of barbarity than humanity in them. When a negro comes from being whipped, cauſe the ſore parts to be waſhed with vinegar mixed with ſalt,

Jamaica

Jamaica pepper, which grows in the gardens, and even a little gunpowder.

As we know from experience that moſt men of a low extraction, and without education, are ſubject to thieving in their neceſſities, it is not at all ſurpriſing to ſee negroes thieves, when they are in want of every thing, as I have ſeen many badly fed, badly cloathed, and having nothing to lie upon but the ground. I ſhall make but one reflection. If they are ſlaves, it is alſo true that they are men, and capable of becoming Chriſtians: beſides, it is your intention to draw advantage from them, is it not therefore reaſonable to take all the care of them that you can? We ſee all thoſe who underſtand the government of horſes give an extraordinary attention to them, whether they be intended for the ſaddle or the draught. In the cold ſeaſon they are well covered and kept in warm ſtables. In the ſummer they have a cloth thrown over them, to keep them from the duſt, and at all times good litter to lie upon. Every morning their dung is carried away, and they are well curried and combed. If you aſk thoſe maſters, why they beſtow ſo much pains upon beaſts? they will tell you, that, to make a horſe ſerviceable to you, you muſt take a good deal of care of him, and that it is for the intereſt of the perſon to whom a horſe belongs, ſo to do. After this example, can one hope for labour from negroes, who very often are in want of neceſſaries? Can one expect fidelity from a man, who is denied what he ſtands moſt in need of? When one ſees a negro, who labours hard and with much aſſiduity, it is common to ſay to him, by way of encouragement, that they are well pleaſed with him, and that he is a good negro. But when any of them, who underſtand our language, are ſo complimented, they very properly reply, *Maſſer, when negre be much fed, negre work much; when negre has good maſſer, negre be good.*

If I adviſe the planters to take great care of their negroes, I at the ſame time ſhew them that their intereſt

is connected in that with their humanity. But I do no leſs adviſe them always to diſtruſt them, without ſeeming to fear them, becauſe it is as dangerous to ſhew a concealed enemy that you fear him, as to do him an injury.

Therefore make it your conſtant cuſtom to ſhut your doors ſecurely, and not to ſuffer any negro to ſleep in the houſe with you, and have it in their power to open your door. Viſit your negroes from time to time, at night and on days and hours when they leaſt expect you, in order to keep them always in fear of being found abſent from their huts. Endeavour to aſſign each of them a wife, to keep clear of debauchery and its bad conſequences. It is neceſſary that the negroes have wives, and you ought to know that nothing attaches them ſo much to a plantation as children. But above all do not ſuffer any of them to abandon his wife, when he has once made choice of one in your preſence. Prohibit all fighting under pain of the laſh, otherwiſe the women will often raiſe ſquabbles among the men.

Do not ſuffer your negroes to carry their children to the field with them, when they begin to walk, as they only ſpoil the plants and take off the mothers from their work. If you have a few negro children, it is better to employ an old negro woman to keep them in the camp, with whom the mothers may leave ſomething for their children to eat. This you will find to be the moſt profitable way. Above all do not ſuffer the mothers ever to carry them to the edge of the water, where there is too much to be feared.

For the better ſubſiſtence of your negroes, you ought every week to give them a ſmall quantity of ſalt and of herbs of your garden, to give a better reliſh to their Couſcou, which is a diſh made of the meal of rice or maiz ſoaked in broth.

If you have any old negro, or one in weak health, employ him in fiſhing both for yourſelf and your negroes. His labour will be well worth his ſubſiſtence.

It is moreover for your own intereſt to give your negroes a ſmall piece of waſte ground to improve at the end of your own, and to engage them to cultivate it for their own profit, that they may be able to dreſs a little better, by ſelling the produce of it, which you ought to buy from them upon fair and juſt terms. It were better that they ſhould employ themſelves in cultivating that field on Sundays, when they are not Chriſtians, than do worſe. In a word, nothing is more to be dreaded than to ſee the negroes aſſemble together on Sundays, ſince, under pretence of Calinda or the dance, they ſometimes get together to the number of three or four hundred, and make a kind of Sabbath, which it is always prudent to avoid; for it is in thoſe tumultuous meetings that they ſell what they have ſtolen to one another, and commit many crimes. In theſe likewiſe they plot their rebellions.

To conclude, one may, by attention and humanity, eaſily manage negroes; and, as an inducement, one has the ſatisfaction to draw great advantage from their labours.

THE END.

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